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VOL IV.

UTOPIA:

OR,

THE HAPPY REPUBLIC.

A

Philosophical Romance,

BY SIR THOMAS MORE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE NEW ATLANTIS,

BY LORD BACON.

WITH

A Preliminary Discourse,

CONTAINING

An Analysis of Plato's Republic, &c.; and copious Notes,

BY

J. A. ST. JOHN, ESQ.

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PRELIMINARY

DISCOURSE.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

Our life is turned
Out of her course, wherever man is made
An offering, or a sacrifice, a tool
Or implement, a passive thing employed
As a brute mean, without acknowledgment
Of common right or interest in the end;
Used or abused as selfishness may prompt.

WORDSWORTH.

THE object of works like the UTOPIA is very commonly misunderstood. People are apt to imagine, because the form in which the principles appear has been created by the author, that the principles themselves likewise partake of a visionary character, and have no reference to society as it actually exists. The attempt to exhibit them in action seems fatal to their vitality. They are supposed to be adapted to the use of no community, because the community in whose social condition the author has chosen to exemplify their necessary operation, is disguised by a fanciful name, or perhaps has no existence.

But this is an unphilosophical mode of judging. In most cases men who create imaginary common-

wealths are careful to introduce no institution, which has not somewhere been put in practice, and received the sanction of experience. They proceed exactly according to the system of landscape-painters, who, from various picturesque features actually observed in nature, compose an ideal scene, more beautiful, perhaps, than any combination of the elements they ever witnessed; or, at least, more complete when artificially isolated, and viewed apart; which is almost impossible in nature itself. Precisely so is it with ethic delineators. They study society in its history and progressive developement, and from among the rules which it has prescribed itself in different circumstances, select what appear to them the wisest, and linking them together by an imaginary vinculum, give birth to a state, a form of government, a code of laws, and a system of manners, such as in their totality never existed, though not necessarily repugnant to the human constitution or the regular dispensations of Providence.

This is preeminently true in the case of Sir Thomas More. He has nowhere, I think, imagined a law which was not really enacted and found to work well in some ancient community; he has conceived no form of manners, even where he departs from established customs most widely, for which he could not, or for which I cannot, adduce historical or philosophical authority; he recommends no practices which have not already prevailed, advocates no maxims which have not, in some country or other, been adopted as principles of action, ad-

vances no opinions which would require more than a very moderate portion of ability to defend.

Not that I by any means pretend he is always right. Far from it. I disagree with him in many places, as they who read my notes will perceive. Yet even where he errs, his errors, I think, are those of a great man, intent on promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number; and with this view venturing daringly on the adoption or revival of practices shrunk from by the timid, or made the object of sneer and sarcasm by the vulgar. His opportunities, however, for acquiring correct notions, and testing theory by experience, were such as fall to the lot of few. Engaged for many years in public business, initiated in all the mysteries of state-craft, he was enabled to observe closely and narrowly the operation of those principles, by which contemporary politicians were guided; and his large acquaintance with history, rendered easy the comparison between existing institutions, and those which society had made experiment of and laid aside, whether from fickleness, or because its wants required the change.

For this reason the opinion of Sir Thomas More, preserved in the Utopia, will always appear worthy of consideration to persons above the puerile habit of judging all things by the prejudice current in their particular coterie. Historians, however, little acquainted with his works, but re-echoing the remarks of some strainer after originality, affect to form a mean estimate of his intellect. They lose sight altogether of the times in which he ap-

peared. They forget how dense were the clouds which then filled the horizon, obstructing the golden rays of truth, that sought to find a passage to the earth. Dwelling on an eminence to which they have not been raised by their own exertions, but by the progressive artificial elevation of the whole platform of society, they conceive themselves entitled to look down upon the Chancellor of Henry the Eighth, because certain truths, now popular, failed to gain admittance into his mind, and certain errors, now exploded, maintained their footing there.

But if all the truths contained in the UTOPIA were expanded and placed in their proper light, it would appear a bold work even now; to say nothing of the errors, which are full as bold and startling as the truths. A strong sympathy with the many always brings its punishment along with it in a monarchy. It subjects the individual who entertains it to suspicion at court, and even in general society. He has dared to suffer his feelings to overstep the limits prescribed by fashion—has tacitly declared himself member of a community more comprehensive than that of the exclusive—has adopted humanity at large in opposition to the humanity of the aristocracy, and is supposed to belong, in sentiment and preferences, to the great circle whose interests he espouses. And there is no one who does not know that a declaration of this kind is still attended with many inconveniences, if not with serious detriment and loss. How much more so, then, must this have been

the case in the days of Sir Thomas More! Nevertheless, though fully alive to all the evils and dangers to which the advocacy of popular government was likely to expose him, he fearlessly, with his eyes open, lent the sanction of his name to a theory of Reform, to adopt the mildest term, more radical and sweeping than any known to the history of legislation, from the days of Lycurgus to the present.

Many, indeed, may conceive that by its very extravagance it was rendered innoxious and unobjectionable. For even princes and nobles would discover little danger in a scheme which strikes at the root of all property and all luxury; which leaves the ambitious nothing to aspire to; the avaricious nothing to crave; the sensualist and voluptuary nothing to sigh after, nothing to covet; the vain, and idle, and time-waster, nothing but the prospect of toil, shared with the rudest and meanest members of the community. Milton speaks of Plato's Republic as an intellectual debauch, indulged in after dinner in the Groves of the Academy. Had he expressed an opinion of the Utopia, it is probable, considering the different geniuses of the men, that it would have been little more favourable; for Sir Thomas More had, in the strict sense, but a scanty share of the poet in his temperament, while Milton was "of imagination all compact." It is, therefore, somewhat surprising to find him among the censurers of Plato, who assuredly, whatever faults he might fall into, did not err on the side of dryness and commonplace, which the ima-

gination abhors, but rather soared too high into the ideal world in search of an exemplar and pattern for human society.

Nevertheless, it was Plato's "Republic" which not merely suggested the Utopia, but was throughout its model, and the authority that tacitly sanctioned many of its most impracticable, and, indeed, undesirable regulations. But it is easier to adopt Plato's errors, than to acquire the art and the irresistible eloquence, amidst the blaze of which we scarcely discern them in his works. While advancing what he would have us believe, he appears much less to be engaged in defending a series of propositions by enthymeme and syllogism, than in delivering a revelation which it were criminal to reject. He always seems to have the Divinity on his side, to be in close communication with heaven, and merely to utter what has been entrusted to him, like a prophet. He writes not like other men. Some, as Demosthenes and Thucydides, may have more vigour; others, as Aristotle, may display more learning, shrewder common sense, a larger acquaintance with mankind; and others, again, as Aristophanes may excel him in wit, in the art of moving laughter, in the wild and marvellous power of transforming whatever he pleased into an object of ridicule, or a mark for scorn. This is true; yet Plato pleases more than any, more than all. There are sources of delight in his works, which burst forth like springs on a cloud-capped mountain, and refresh, and restore, and tranquillize us, though their origin be con-

cealed from view. He absorbs the whole mind of those who gain his intimacy. There is a glory about his ideas, as about the heads of the apostles, which appears to be brightly reflected from our own fancy as we read, and to transform us into something like his resemblance. We feel ourselves in presence of the beautiful; it descends around us like a shower, but a shower that warms and fructifies, and clothes even the most barren and stony places of the soul with verdure. Hence the power and the charm of Plato. He possesses art in perfection, but possesses along with it something which transcends all art, and operates like an eternal source of energy upon whomsoever approaches him.

These qualities, which characterize all his genuine remains, are nowhere more visible than in the "Republic," which, as I have already remarked, excited in Sir Thomas More the wish to frame in imitation of it an ideal state, perfect in laws and manners, and more adapted to the notions and wants of the age in which he lived. Properly to comprehend the modern work, therefore, it will be necessary to form something like a just conception of the ancient one, which has served as the antitype not merely of the UTOPIA, but of the "Panchaia" of Euhemeros, the "City of the Sun" of Campanella, the "New Atlantis" of Lord Bacon, the "Gaudentio di Lucca," attributed to Bishop Berkeley, the "Oceana" of Harrington,[1] and a host of similar productions less renowned.

[1] Gœttling, Pref. ad. Aristot. Polit. p. xii attributes to *Harris* the Oceana of Harrington, which, therefore, he had never read.

But the reader must by no means expect a complete analysis of the "Republic," which would greatly transcend the limits of an introduction. All I can here attempt is a description of the artificial structure of the work, with an explanation, necessarily brief and imperfect, of the principles according to which Plato builds up the frame of civil society. Much doubt has existed as to the object sought to be attained in this voluminous dialogue, some contending that it was simply to ascertain and illustrate the nature of justice, in order to which it was necessary to exhibit it in operation, not in an imperfect individual, but in a perfect community. This is the hypothesis of Schleiermacher and Morgenstern, who, though differing on minor points, agree upon the whole, and maintain their notions with great subtilty and force of argument. "If," says the former, "we are to start upon the supposition that the representation of the state is the proper grand object, it would be hardly possible to conceive why the appearance of the contrary is pointedly produced.[2] And even if it could be explained why Plato combined the investigation concerning justice with this grand

In his countryman Buhle's "History of Modern Philosophy," t. iv. pp. 424—448, he might, however, have discovered not only the real author of the work, but a very full and able analysis of its contents.

[2] This is merely begging the question, and begging it, too, in that impudent way which implies that no one, save the writer, could see what the grand object of Plato might be. Gœttling has a good remark on this point. "In qua republica," says he, "qui imprimis de justitia ocere voluisse Platonem,

object, still the form and the manner in which this is done would then be perfectly unmeaning and absurd. It would have been much more natural to introduce the main subject at once, and then, after the internal existence of the state had been described, to say in what the justice and discretion of such a whole consist; and then the application to the individual mind, and the ethical problems, still unsolved in this point of view, would have resulted most naturally; consequently, a perfectly converse relation between those two grand objects and the essential parts of the work referring to them must then have obtained."[3]

Morgenstern, whose arguments are abridged and represented with much ingenuity by Stallbaum, arrives, after a lengthened discussion, at the conclusion, that Plato's design was to develope the nature of justice and of virtue in general, first in the abstract, and secondly in their operation on human happiness.[4] And this question, which has afforded so many opportunities of disputation to the learned of Germany, had already, as we learn from Proclus, exercised for ages the abilities of the ancients themselves.[5] Muretus, too, who has left behind him a commentary on the first and second books of the Republic, enters at the very outset into the

atque eam ob causam non περὶ πολιτείας, sed περὶ δικαιοσύνης librum suum inscripsisse arbitrati sunt, ii eodem jure Aristotelem, quum de politicis scriberet, non politicam, sed ethicam docere voluisse dicerent."—*Pref. ad Arist. Pol.* p. xi.

[3] Introductions to the Dialogues of Plato. 407 f.

[4] De Argument. et Cons. Lib. Plat. de Repub. t. iii. p. 20.

[5] Comment. ad Plat. Polit. p. 309. ff.

same discussion, and contends that the philosopher's object was twofold, but terminating at length in unity; that is, that his reasoning is designed to show the nature of justice and of good government, which, when properly understood, are but one and the same thing.[6] And this, in fact, is the view which Stallbaum himself adopts, though he makes use of different language in embodying his notion, observing that Plato, notwithstanding that he sets out with investigating the nature of justice, evidently proposes to lay before the reader his beau ideal of a good citizen and a perfect state; that is, a man and a government actuated on all occasions by the strict principles of justice.[7]

A great deal of useless ingenuity has been exhibited in this investigation. Plato everywhere throughout his works advocates the doctrine that the object of government is the greatest happiness of the greatest number; and in the "Republic" undertakes to show upon what basis a polity designed to secure that must be erected, and what form it ought to assume. He, however, approaches the subject in his usual way, through digression and a seemingly rambling dialogue, light at first as air, but rapidly assuming solidity, and shaping

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M. Ant. Muret. Comment. p. 615. ff.

[7] De Argum. et Consil. &c. iii. 26. "Quum enim omnis fere disputatio, licet a justiciæ notione exploranda proficiscatur, tamen in describenda indole et natura tum optimi hominis tum perfectæ civitatis contineatur, dubitari non posco arbitramur, quin in hac ipsa re præcipuam questionem versari putare debeamus."

itself into an elevated and majestic form. Socrates, who afterwards turns out to be the builder of the state, descends to the Peiræeos, in company with Glaucon, the son of Ariston, for the purpose of performing his devotions to Artemis, and beholding the Bendidia, a splendid festival celebrated in honour of that goddess. When about to return, he is accidentally met and detained by Polemarchos, brother of the orator Lysias, who takes him to the house of their father Kephalos. Here a remarkably pleasing conversation takes place between Socrates and the old man, which gives us a high idea of the polished manners and amiable character of Athenian gentlemen.

The first topic upon which they start is old age; from this the transition is easy to the means by which old age may be rendered comfortable, among which wealth holds a prominent place; this conducts the discussion to the subject of a good conscience, then of justice, by the practice of which a good conscience is preserved. It is shown that to be just forms the basis of individual happiness; that that which renders one man happy, must be equally successful when applied to many men—to all men; consequently, that justice constitutes the happiness of states as of individuals. Hence they pass to the consideration of the nature and form of a state, and how it may be administered on just principles; in other words, rendered prosperous and happy.

When the discussion opens there are eleven individuals present, reckoning Kephalos, who, how-

ever, soon departs to superintend certain religious rites. But of the ten who remain, few take an active part in what is going forward. There is at first a rush, as it were, of many champions to defend injustice and tyranny against the attacks of Socrates, and the old man feigns to be alarmed for his cause. But by degrees their ardour finds itself checked. The philosopher, whom but a short time before it seemed so easy to overcome, having yielded to the fierce storm of sophistical opposition, returns to the charge, brandishes the arms of an irresistible logic, dislodges them first from one position, then from another, until at length the patrons of tyranny in full rout are driven ignominiously from the field. Then, the ground being cleared, he proceeds to frame his Commonwealth, in a manner totally different from that of polity-builders in general, exhibiting as he proceeds the mode in which society rises out of its elements, as well as the formation, first principles, and gradual developement of government.

In following out this process many notions are advanced questionable in themselves, or objectionable from their extreme opposition to the opinions current in society.[8] Such, for example, as the community of wives and children, and of property, which, though, as has been proved by Sparta and the kingdom of the Nairs, it might be reduced to practice without any material inconvenience, must yet on moral grounds be condemned. But, pass-

[8] Rep. V. §. §. 6, 7. 1. 348. ff.—*Stallbaum.*

ing over this, as unnecessary to be dwelt upon here, I may remark that, however defective the regulations respecting the moral relations of the sexes, children once born are cared for, nurtured, trained, and invested with habits ethical and intellectual, in a manner surpassing whatever has been anywhere else attempted, whether in a real or ideal community. In fact, Plato's system of education practically developed, would, in the course of a few generations, give birth to a race of human beings exceeding in physical force and beauty, in moral grandeur, in political power, in social happiness, everything hitherto known in the form of man. Communities in general bestow no attention on the circumstances connected with the physical formation of their citizens. They appear to consider it of no moment whether the population be powerful or feeble, of good stature or stunted, beautiful or deformed. Or, if such subjects do at wide intervals command some attention from the reflecting few, their meditations have hitherto been barren of great results; for no state, so far as I am aware, has in modern times effected anything towards improving the breed of men, though it be on all hands acknowledged that health and vigour of body exercise an important influence over the intellectual capacity and moral habits of mankind.

Plato, in common with most ancient legislators, attributes extraordinary influence to education; and accordingly, his regulations on the subject are minute and numerous, but calculated of course to create citizens fitted to live in a commonwealth

such as his. On this point Sir Thomas More differs most from Plato, and his inferiority is in exact proportion to the difference. He would appear not to have launched far into those speculations which are conversant with the generation of habits and articles of faith, with the origination of mental movement, with the conversion of individual preferences into general principles of action, in other words, with the gradual transformation of a host of jarring, discordant, selfish, ignorant human units into one grand harmonious whole, actuated by like sentiments, like opinions, like principles, achieving their own happiness by promoting that of others. But in this Plato was pre-eminently skilled. If he imagined man existing under extraordinary circumstances, he knew, therefore, the arts by which they were to be reconciled to those circumstances; and there can be little doubt, notwithstanding the suppositions of Aristotle, that men educated as they are in the "Republic" would be content to pass their lives in such a state.

It will by no means be possible to enter here into even an outline of this philosophical system, which being framed to occupy a place in a very peculiar order of things, would in its totality be inapplicable to any other. But viewed as a means to a given end, it may safely be pronounced unrivalled. It contains the first attempt made in the world to place woman on a level with man, though in the means imagined for *this* particular purpose, the philosopher more than once, in my opinion, misses his aim. He, however, establishes the fact,

that setting bodily force aside, woman is designed by nature to be not only the companion, but the peer of man, the participator of his sublimest speculations, his noblest virtues, his patriotism, his valour; and that in those countries where she holds an inferior position, it is the laws and iniquitous institutions that confine her to it.

Socrates had, indeed, very particular reasons to be grateful to women. It was from two of them, Diotima and Aspasia, that he derived, according to his own account, his philosophy, and that matchless style of domestic eloquence, which bore down before it all opposition. The speech of Diotima on love is introduced into the "Banquet." Its tone and character are little in accordance with the idea vulgarly entertained on the education and accomplishments of Hellenic women; but Plato was too exquisite a judge of propriety, too much alive to what was due to himself and to his own reputation, too sensible of how injudicious it would be to outrage probability, to have introduced that speech, or that other of Aspasia in the "Menexenos," had there been the least possible absurdity in attributing such eloquence, or so much profound philosophy, to individuals of that sex.

But however these points may be disposed of, it will be hard to prove that there has ever existed a political community in which women have exercised a greater or more beneficial influence than in the polity of Plato. In all republics, indeed, as Lady Montague acutely remarks, women have their full share, if not something more, in the manage-

ment of public business; and as their education too commonly unfits them for comprehending the nature of that business, their interference is, for the most part, productive of very mischievous results.

To wave this disquisition, let me advert briefly to the form of the commonwealth, which in many of its regulations, is exactly conformable to nature. Having divided the mental powers of man into *reason, irritability,* and *desire,* he makes a corresponding division of the population of his state into three classes—the magistrates, the military, and the populace; the first governed by calm wisdom, the second by the angry passions, under the guidance of reason, the third by the feelings of the moment, whatever they may be. He could not conceive the possibility of communicating the lessons of philosophy to the multitude; nor could any other man, until those lessons were embodied by Christianity in a brief moral code, comprehensible to all men, whose injunctions and prohibitions come sanctioned, moreover, by the authority of the Almighty. The condition of the common people, therefore, has been altered by Christianity. From a gross and sensual throng, they may, where the other classes do their duty, be converted into masses manageable by reason, open to the influences of religion, inspired with the enlightened love of country; and although in themselves incapable, as a body, of exercising the functions of government, by no means precluded from furnishing from among their own ranks, both wise legislators and able commanders.

Plato's magistrates were to be chosen from the military caste, upon principles which could not fail to give satisfaction to the most democratic of mankind. Virtue and wisdom were their sole titles to nobility and rule. They were to be chosen to govern, because nature, by bestowing on them the capacity, had evidently designed them for it; not because their acres were numerous, or their purses well filled. Education, too, was to concur in enlarging, strengthening, and polishing their minds; and philosophy and religion, those two most consummate teachers of happiness, were through life to be their counsellors, supporters, and guides. A state so governed would be under the immediate direction and control of nature. Virtue, which is but the health of the soul, would become the general habit of the community; contention and violence would be unknown; misery would cease; and the Golden Age, feigned by the poets, would be called into a real existence upon earth.

Every one has heard it was the opinion of Plato, that nations would never be well governed or happy, until kings should be philosophers, or philosophers kings. Experience has taught mankind a different lesson. Philosophers are now employed in discovering how, in order to be happy, mankind may deliver themselves from their kings, which, after so many ages of useless toil and experiment, is the only hope they have left. However, it is in the "Republic" that he expresses that opinion; and the reader who is at the pains to examine, that while making use of the term *king*,

Plato by no means intended what we understand by it, but something extremely different—as different, in fact, as virtue is from vice. His notions of a philosopher, too, differed very materially from those which prevail in our day. He did not understand by it a man who stands all day at the tail of a pair of bellows in a laboratory, with sooty face and hands begrimed with charcoal, watching the results of a chemical experiment. Such a person he would have considered a highly useful servant of philosophy, but would have found for him a name altogether different from that of philosopher. Nor did he intend by the term a botanist, a natural historian, or an astronomer. Even the logician, who reasons subtly, and the sophist, who understands something of everything, and on any given question can discourse a full hour by Shrewsbury clock, would by no means have come up to Plato's conception of a philosopher. He bestowed the name on those, and those only, who have arrived by meditation at the knowledge of eternal truth; who, smitten by the beauty of virtue, not only love and admire it, but pursue it with all their soul and with all their strength, who nourish it, who exercise it, who put their whole trust in it; and who, in proportion to the loftiness and perfection of their theoretical wisdom, are versed likewise in practice and experience, and in all the arts which lead to private virtue and public felicity.[9]

[9] Conf. Stallbaum De Argument. et Consil &c, i. 36. Morgenstern. p. 202—212. De Geer. Diatr. de Polit. Plat. Princip. p. 164—175. with Books vi. and vii. of the Republic, *passim*.

It has been observed above, that Plato divides the powers of the mind into three, and that in his ideal state were three classes of men corresponding to that division of the mental faculties. Following out the idea that a commonwealth is but a compound entity, bearing a strict analogy to an individual man, he considers the excellence of a perfect polity to be of the same nature with that of a good citizen. For the perfection of a state consists in the prevalence of four forms of virtue:—*wisdom*, the distinguishing quality of those rulers and magistrates, who consult and deliberate on whatever concerns the happiness and prosperity of the people; *fortitude*, which must exist in the military caste, who, under the direction of the magistrates, protect the rights and interests of the community; *temperance*, which constrains the multitude to yield obedience to their rulers, and live in peace and harmony with each other; and, lastly, *justice*, which prevails when the citizens not only are united by a kind of brotherly love, but cheerfully perform each class their several duties, whereby all the minor virtues, both public and private, are strengthened and preserved.[10]

Having explained and described the several excellencies of a state, which, as I have observed, are in his view identical with those of the individual, he proceeds to develope the corruptions and perversions of government, which likewise correspond exactly with various modifications of human de-

[10] De Repub. iv. 427 e.—435 a.

pravity. His ideas on this part of the subject deserve the deepest attention, particularly from those who, as legislators or statesmen, may by wisdom exalt their country to the pinnacle of political prosperity, or plunge it by inexperience and ignorance into the depths of misery. Here, in fact, are found the germs of those magnificent political theories afterwards brought forward more systematically by Aristotle, Cicero, and Montesquieu; and perhaps Bentham himself, whose unpoetical mind offers the completest contrast to that of Plato, was not wholly unindebted to this portion of the Republic. At any rate, they who prefer profiting by profound speculations to the pleasure of dwelling upon a few casual errors, snatched up and borne along by the mind in its loftiest flights, as straws, and leaves, and other worthless things are by the whirlwind, may here refresh, enlarge, and invigorate their understandings, by the contemplation of ideas exquisitely original, of theories sublime and daring beyond belief, of eloquence invested with a splendour, a brightness, and a power nowhere surpassed, but of which the English reader may obtain some idea in the pages of that "holiest of men," to whom we owe the "Paradise Lost," and the "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano."

To proceed: there is no form of government which has not by nature a strong and almost necessary tendency to degenerate into another political system, which may be regarded as its perversion; for even the most perfect shape which a commonwealth can assume, in Plato's language an aris-

tocracy, but, more properly, a representative Democracy, slides by fatal necessity, first into *Timocracy*, then into *Oligarchy*, next into *Ochlocracy*, (confounded with Democracy by the ancients,) and lastly, into *Tyranny*. Aristotle has treated this part of the subject with his usual clearness and method, in some respects improving upon his master's notions. He reckons three legitimate forms of government—Aristocracy, Democracy, and Monarchy; and observes, that the first degenerates, when perverted, into Oligarchy, the second into Ochlocracy, or mob-government, the third into Tyranny, a kind of political institution, with which modern nations are well acquainted.

Plato pursues his parallel between the individual citizen and the state, and shows how perversion is effected in each. In the first place, while reason and counsel maintain their authority in the mind, the passions are held in due restraint, and virtue bears sway; but the legitimate governing power removed, the lusts and impetuous desires of our nature assume the superiority, and vice succeeds to virtue. Precisely so happens it in states. Strife and anger beget ambition, of all vices the nearest akin to virtue. And this is the animating principle of *Timocracies*, such as those of Crete and Sparta, which may be regarded as occupying the next place in excellence to Plato's Republic; at least they were so regarded by the philosopher himself. The progress of corruption continuing, and cupidity and other vices abounding, an *Oligarchy* springs up, in which sordid lucre, selfish-

ness, and the base worship of property, actuate both rulers and people. In this vilest of all governments, virtue ceases to exercise the slightest influence; words lose their original signification; a "good man" no longer signifies a man possessing high moral qualities, but a person who has large means; the qualification of a senator is not virtue, or honour, or capacity, or wisdom, but a certain census in land or moveables; privileged castes rise above the heads of their fellow-citizens, render themselves hereditary, and monopolize the functions of government, of religion, of the army; learning is despised, genius is trampled under foot, the arts dwindle into instruments of luxury; women grow depraved, children disobedient. The people at length are goaded into revolution. They are ignorant, and incapable of self-government. An *Ochlocracy,* or mob-rule, is tried; but the very vitality of the nation having been almost drained out by the Oligarchy, after many fruitless attempts at building up a palace with sand, they grow weary of fruitless exertion, and apathy succeeds, during which some daring man starts up, seizes the unlucky moment, and establishes a *Tyranny,* which Plato looks upon as the worst depravation of government.

Tyranny, however, is not so much a form of government as political death, or sleep, during which all conscious exertion of power is extinguished. The people, like a vast mass of brute matter, are fashioned by their tyrant into whatever form he pleases: he sends jugglers among them, under the

name of priests, who fill them with dreams favourable to tyranny; by the instrumentality of these men, he darkens their minds, stupifies them with intellectual mandragora, and gradually plucks up by the root every free and manly and noble sentiment; ultimately, with more than Circæan art, he transforms them into hogs, rings their noses, and turns them to grunt, feed, and fatten for his use in the sty of slavery.[11] Plato proceeds no further in this fatal circle. History, in fact, afforded him no light, exhibited to him no people, who, after ages of degradation and misery, rose again, wreaked fearful vengeance on their hereditary oppressors, repaid back with interest in a day their wrongs and the wrongs of their forefathers, shook their puny tyrants into their original nothingness, and placed themselves once more on the level of man, and made well-conceived advances towards perfect freedom. This Plato had not seen, though we have, and even now see: but this is a digression from the Platonic theory.

The philosopher had enjoyed too many opportunities of instructing himself in the school of experience, to believe that any commonwealth, however wisely constituted, can be placed beyond the reach of time and change. He knew that his Republic, like the glorious one in which he was born, and whose excellence he did not sufficiently prize, must yield at length, with every other work of man, to dissolution; but this by no means justifies men, in his opinion,

[11] Conf. Stallbaum. i. 38. De Repub. viii. p. 543—580 a.

for relaxing their endeavours to stave off the assaults of decay. He did not think that men should hasten to perish in youth, because old age and death will overtake them inevitably at some distant day, let them act in the meantime as they please. On the contrary, he is careful to point out the means, which he fondly conceived to be in their power, of preserving the health of the state; that is to say, perpetual concord and union among the citizens. But the question still recurs, how are concord and union to be generated and maintained? In the answer to this consists the chief merit of Plato's system. He grounds everything on the notions of moderation, unmeddling self-command, patience, forbearance, temperance, charity, aversion for novelty, and ineradicable love of country, which shall from infancy have been instilled into the minds of all, fostered by public honours, corroborated by habit, sanctioned by religion. This, therefore, brings us back again to education, which in point of fact is the grand pivot upon which his whole Republic turns, as every state must, in reality, whatever may be its defects or excellencies. Everything depends on the manner of disciplining and instructing youth. Give me the sole direction of the education of a state, and I will convert a republic into a monarchy, or a monarchy into a republic, in the course of thirty years. It is the Archimedean lever that moves the world, as Plato, better than any man, understood. In concluding this outline, which may already be thought too long, I shall, perhaps, be pardoned for advancing

one truth, not sufficiently kept in mind by our contemporaries; and it is this—that, in order to be anything more than a splendid dream, republics must be erected on two pillars, VIRTUE and RELIGION; without which freedom can by no possibility exist, since there is not on earth a good man who would not choose rather the despotism of the Ottoman Sultan, than a commonwealth of irreligious, selfish, base, calculating knaves.

I do not here pause to contrast with the polity which I have slightly sketched, that other more practical scheme of government which, towards the decline of life, Plato brought forward in his "Laws." It has much less originality, and is rather distinguished by an attempt at reconciling lofty theory with practice, by a number of minute details, than for the features which it presents as a whole. But the ancients were partial to those poetical platforms of government, framed by philosophers in their closets, which, without adhering strictly to what might be literally practicable, suggest improvements, and keep alive the desire for them, and faith in their reality, by exhibiting communities moulded at pleasure, conforming to a code of laws intended to approach as nearly as possible to perfection.

Even before Plato's time, Hippodamos, an architect of Miletos, who acquired celebrity in his profession by constructing the Peiræeos, and improving the method of distributing streets, and laying out cities, conceived the plan of an ideal republic, of which Aristotle has preserved an out-

line. "Hippodamos," he says, "was ambitious of reaching eminence in all kinds of knowledge, and is the first author who, without any practice in affairs, wrote a treatise concerning the best form of government. His republic consisted of ten thousand men, divided into the three classes of artificers, husbandmen, and soldiers. The territory he likewise divides into three portions; the sacred, destined for the various exigencies of public worship, (church lands;) the common, to be cultivated for the common benefit of the soldiers; and the private, to be separately appropriated by the husbandmen. His laws also were divided into three kinds, because he thought there were only three sorts of injuries; insults, damages, and death. He instituted a court of appeal, composed of select senators. Sentence, he thought, ought not to be passed by votes or ballot; but that each judge should be furnished with a tablet, on which he should write guilty, if he simply condemned, and which he should leave unwritten, if he simply acquitted; but on which, if he found the defendant in some measure guilty, but not to the full extent of the indictment, he should mark this difference, stating how much the culprit should pay, or what punishment he should suffer.

"As the law formerly stood, Hippodamos observed, that in all cases requiring this distinction, the judge, who was bound by oath to observe justice in his decisions, must commit perjury whenever he either simply and positively condemned, or simply and positively acquitted. Hippodamos

also established a law in favour of those whose inventions tended to improve the constitution of the commonwealth; they were to be distinguished by peculiar honours; and the children of those who fell in battle were to be maintained and educated at the public expense. This last regulation, first introduced by the artichect of Miletos, has been adopted by Athens and other cities. According to his plan of polity, the magistrates were all of them to be elected by the free and impartial suffrages of their fellow-citizens, consisting of the three classes of men above mentioned: the concerns of the state, the affairs of strangers, the care and management of orphans, formed the three important objects intrusted to their administration."

It will be seen that in the Republic of Hippodamos, more care is bestowed on the material structure of the state, than on the spirit by which it was to be animated. But let us listen to the judgment which Aristole, who was a severe political critic, passes upon this imaginary commonwealth:— "Such," he observes, "are the leading features of the Republic of Hippodamos, in examining which the first difficulty that occurs has reference to his division of the citizens. The husbandmen, the artificers, and the soldiers, are all of them to be members of the state; but the husbandmen, destitute of arms, will maintain a very unequal conflict with the soldiers, if these last should be tempted to enslave them. An association of men, so unequally treated by the legislator, must continually tend to dissolution. The great executive

magistracies, together with every office of military command, devolve of course on the soldiers. Can the two remaining classes be expected to wish the continuance of a government, from whose honours and emoluments they are for ever to be excluded? A revolution, therefore, must speedily take place, unless the military be more powerful than both the husbandmen and the artificers united; and if they actually be so, of what signification is it, that these degraded classes are summoned to give their votes at elections, and mocked with the appellation of citizens? Artificers, subsisting by the fruits of their own labour, are essential to the existence of every city or community. But the class of husbandmen as regulated by Hippodamos, by what tie of utility are they linked to the state? The common lands might be cultivated by the military themselves, which would destroy the distinction between the soldiers and the peasants. They might be cultivated by men destitute of private estates; and this would form a fourth class, distinct from the husbandmen of Hippodamos, who, by a most awkward regulation, are to labour one district, consisting of their private estates, for their own maintenance, and another, consisting of the common lands, for the maintenance of the military; a most useless distinction of property, and most absurd partition of employment, by which much valuable time would be lost, and much unnecessary expense incurred."

He is equally severe upon the judicial regulations of this ancient Utopia, which, he insists, "are

not less blamable, since their direct tendency is to convert judges into arbiters, and thereby to arm them with an arbitrary power of decision, which can never be expedient to the parties, unless it be specially granted, and voluntarily entrusted. In matters submitted to arbitration, communication of sentiment and discussion of opinion are not only allowed, but required. In courts of justice most legislators have strictly prohibited both; commanding each judge simply to condemn, or simply to acquit, as his own reason directs. By the innovations of Hippodamos, legal proceedings would be involved in inextricable confusion. The defendant might be ordered by one judge to pay twenty minæ, by another more, and by a third less; each might differ from every other, and all from the plaintiff. The sentence would be thus split into such a multitude of parts, as it would be difficult to collect, and impossible to unite; and all these difficulties would be created and encountered, in order to obviate an imaginary inconvenience; for it is false that the judge is perjured, who simply acquits a party sued for twenty minæ, although he may believe that he really owes half that sum. The judge would, on the contrary, be perjured if he did not acquit him; and in all similar cases, the fault lies not in the law or in the judge, but in the libel and in the plaintiff, whose cause is not correctly stated, and whose action is not fairly brought."[12]

[12] I have here made use of the able, but somewhat paraphrastic, and not always faithful translation of Dr. Gillies, ii. 6.

Notices of several other imaginary commonwealths have been preserved, chiefly by Aristotle; as that, for example, of Phaleas of Chalcedon, in which the principal object was the equalization of property; but the most extraordinary Utopia of which we discover any trace among ancient writers, is the one briefly described in an obscure fragment of Theopompos of Chios. This writer, whose diligence and ability as an historian entitled him to the praise of Athenæus and Dionysius of Halicarnassos, collected in the course of his reading a number of extraordinary relations, which he published under the title of *Θαυμασία*. In this work, as Servius, in his Commentary on the Sixth book of the Æneid, observes, the singular romance I am about to notice was originally found. But the Collection itself has long since perished, and this fragment is all, I believe, now left by which to judge of its nature and value.

Theopompos, says the sophist, to whom we are indebted for the story, has preserved a certain dialogue, which once took place between Seilenos and Midas, king of Phrygia. This Seilenos, as is well known, was the son of a nymph, inferior in condition to the gods, but endued with immortality, and by nature superior to mankind. He conversed familiarly with Midas upon many subjects, and, among other things, informed him that Europe, Asia, and Libya, are but so many islands com-

Gœttling, who, like Dr. Gillies himself, loves to alter the arrangement of the text, calls it chapter v. Bekker preserves the divisions of the received editions.

pletely surrounded by the ocean; but that, beyond the limits of the known world, there was a continent of prodigious magnitude, which gave birth to animals of vast bulk, and to men of double the ordinary stature. These Brobdignagians, not content with exceeding us so much in size, had likewise obtained from nature the privilege of living twice as long; a circumstance which they skilfully turned to account, erecting numerous spacious cities governed by laws and institutions peculiar to themselves, and the very opposite of ours. Among these polities were two in everything the reverse of each other. One of the strong holds was called *Machimos*, or the "Place of War;" the other *Eusebes*, or the "Holy City." The inhabitants of the latter, who passed their days in peace, abounded exceedingly in wealth, and enjoyed whatever the earth brings forth, without ox or plough, without sowing or husbandry. Sickness, too, came not near their dwellings, and their healthful career was crowned in all its course with smiles and delights. Justice they practised without contention or strife, so that even the gods did not from time to time disdain to mingle with them.

The inhabitants of Machimos, on the other hand, were of all men the most martial; and living constantly under arms, vexed the neighbouring nations with unceasing wars, and acquired the empire over numerous states. The number of citizens scarcely fell short of two millions, few of whom ever came to a peaceful end, but fell in battle, overwhelmed with stones, or beaten to death

with clubs, for to steel they were invulnerable. Gold was so plentiful in their country, that it was regarded of less value than iron amongst us. These warlike people were said to have crossed the Atlantic in remote antiquity, for the purpose of making war on our part of the world; and, effecting a landing with an army surpassing twofold that of the Medes, to have marched northward as far as the country of the Hyperboreans. Finding, however, upon inquiry, that these were considered the most flourishing nation in Europe, the Machimians conceived too profound a contempt for the whole race to think of pushing their conquests any further.

Another race described by Seilenos were still more extraordinary. These were the *Meropes*, who inhabited a portion of the Great Continent, where they possessed many large and beautiful cities. Towards the extreme limits of their empire was a place called *Anoston*, which, both in name and characteristics, strongly resembled "that untravelled country, from whose bourne no traveller returns." Into this deep valley man descended as into a chasm. No sunshine or pure light sparkled there, neither did total darkness prevail, but the whole atmosphere was filled with a murky haze, impregnated with a ruddy glow. Through this dismal region two rivers lapsed along, the one of Pleasure, the other of Grief; and on their margins grew trees, in size equalling a lofty plantain. Those which sprang up along the river of Grief, produced a fruit of peculiar properties; and if any one tasted of it, he forthwith burst into floods of tears,

which overflowed perpetually, until death came to his relief. On the contrary, the fruit of those trees which were watered by the river of Pleasure, carried Elysium in their taste. For, whosoever ate of it, forgot at once all his former desires, and every object he had previously loved :—

"The tree of knowledge has been plucked, all's known ;"

the hues of youth came again over his cheeks—he travelled backward along the whole track of life—tasted of boyhood's delights a second time—then crept, an infant, into the cradle—and, lastly, sought, as all do, that narrow house, "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."[13]

Both König and Perizonius conjecture, with much probability, that Theopompos has embodied, in the above fanciful narration, a portion of the strange reports current in the ancient world respecting America. Plato, it is well known, had gathered similar intimations of the existence of that great continent; of an invasion of Europe by its inhabitants; and sundry other particulars, fabulous or mixed with fable. However this may be, there can, I think, exist no doubt that some obscure and imperfect knowledge of America had found its way to the old world; and as little can we call in question the fact, that in remote antiquity, civilized and powerful nations flourished in the kingdoms of Mexico and Peru, who, in those magnificent ruins recently disinterred, have left irrefragable

[13] Ælian. Hist. Var. iii. 18.

proofs of their grandeur and refinement. It was, moreover, by imperfect glimpses of these facts, caught through the relations of the early conquerors of America, that Sir Thomas More himself was led to found his Republic in that part of the world, but with sufficient geographical latitude to obviate the possibility of inconvenient applications.

Euhemeros founded his imaginary commonwealth in a different quarter of the globe, and with different views. He was a man who, had his mind been rightly constituted, might have derived from his enlarged experience, materials for something better than a mere theological romance,—for his *Panchaia* was nothing more,—designed, like the novels of Voltaire, to sap the foundations of his country's religion. At the command of Kassander, King of Macedon, he undertook a voyage of discovery into the Indian Ocean, embarking at a port of Arabia Fœlix. How long he was absent does not appear; but on his return, instead of publishing an account of his voyage, and throwing valuable light on the manners of remote nations and the geography of the world, he put forth a work, in which he pretended to have discovered an island, called Panchaia, in the capital of which he found inscriptions furnishing highly valuable information on the origin of the Hellenic gods. Here, while a mortal, Zeus had lived and reigned; and in the temple dedicated to his honour, had set up a pillar, on which was engraved his own history, and that of his family. In this work Diodorus Siculus found the materials for the greater portion of

his fifth book; the sixth, now lost, contained an analysis of Euhemeros's seventh book; and of this a considerable fragment has been preserved by Eusebius.[14]

Such were the models which evidently suggested to Sir Thomas More both the form and subject of his Utopia. He might, nevertheless, but for the spirit of his times, have preferred the example of Aristotle and Macchiavelli, by which he would have sacrificed, perhaps, some degree of temporary popularity, and incurred additional personal risk, but at the same time would unquestionably have enjoyed a higher and more widely-spread reputation with posterity. We require the teachers of truth to put on a grave look; and none, in fact, but minds of the first order know how to reconcile the dignity of didactic composition, with the vivacity of dialogue and the suspicious completeness of fiction. The importance of the teacher disappears if he smile, and labour to be amusing. A man should come to the study of politics as to his daily food, not because it is pleasant, but because it is necessary, because he cannot be a man without it. The statesman, therefore, who by his endeavour to deck it with meretricious charms appears to doubt the sufficiency of his subject to occupy and fill the mind, is sure at the outset to excite the suspicion that he feels not all its value, and consequently is scarcely capable of forcibly in-

[14] Præpar. Evangel. ii. 2. Conf. Schœll. Hist. de la Literature Grecque. t. iii. p. 249. ff.

fusing into the minds of others a due conception of how vast and all-engrossing it should be.

But this, as I have remarked already, may be a mere prejudice, and in the case of the author of the Utopia is nothing more. Its form, to the judicious reader, though it may not help the effect of the truths brought forward, will certainly not be suffered to diminish it; especially if he consider in what circumstances of times and manners the defect, if it be one, originated. With many it may operate as a recommendation, though the narrative and dramatic portion of the work be not, as in Gulliver, sufficient of itself to keep alive curiosity, and urge the fancy headlong forward from the first page to the last. And in that circumstance consists the organic defect of the work. Had there been a more extensive and exquisite machinery of characters, incidents, plot, scenery, costume, and so on; had there been more of historical developement, more painting of external nature, more to flatter the imagination, and call the feelings into active play, the ordinary public would have read the book for amusement, and sucked in accidentally its political wisdom by the way. Boys would have travelled delighted over the Utopian land, could they have there from time to time encountered spots rendered gloomy by battles or tragedies, or bright and sunny by reminiscences of love; could they have discovered, if not in the institutions, in the pomp at least of manners and arts, something to dazzle or overawe, to kindle brilliant images in the fancy, or to rouse and bear

the passions irresistibly away by the force and vehemence of eloquence.

At a later period of our literature, Sir Thomas More might probably have aimed at all this, and with no mean success. But in that age men were far less fastidious in the matter of books, than luxurious plenty has since rendered them. They thought it much if any addition at all were made to the treasures bequeathed to us by the Greeks and Romans, seeming, like Hudibras,

> ——— "exceeding loath
> To look a gift-horse in the mouth."

And this literary penury, while it taught them tolerance, gave them at the same time a strong healthy appetite for wholesome instruction, even without the finer condiments of style, with patience to go through and digest it thoroughly. Thus we may account for the extraordinary degree of popularity enjoyed, when it first appeared, by the Utopia, both in foreign countries and at home, as well as the comparative neglect into which it has since fallen. It was produced in one of those unlucky periods, when the art of writing flourished but imperfectly. Literature, like fruit, appears to ripen only at particular seasons; such as the age of Pericles, the age of Demosthenes, the age of Virgil and Horace, the age of Leo X., the age of Shakespeare, and the age of Pope. Few, rising up in the intervals, carry the art to perfection, or are anything more than the bright trails of sunset, or the harbingers

of dawn, valued for what they recal or foretell, not for their own intrinsic beauty.

Nevertheless, though Sir Thomas More be an imitator, his imitation, like that of Giulio Romano, has the fire of nature in it, and can by no means be regarded as the mere reflection of anything previously existing. He opens his work in a highly striking manner, introducing at once an historical character, since renowned for his tyranny and his vices, but endowed in these pages with the mental and moral qualities of a Marcus Aurelius. "Henry the Eighth, the unconquered King of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great monarch, having some differences of no small moment with Charles, the most serene Prince of Castile, sent me into Flanders as his ambassador, for treating and composing matters between them."

I know of no artifice of rhetoric by which he could have bespoken a more favourable hearing. The reader, though by a side-wind, is at once carried into the secret of the author's condition, of the estimation in which he was held by his prince, and of the great experience he was likely to have had in public affairs, before so puissant and wise a monarch would have entrusted to his management the settling of differences, considered by the chief statesmen of the age as of no small consequence. From the first moment he makes it manifest that the reader is not to be entertained with the reveries of one of those chamber-lecturers, who would undertake to instruct Hannibal in the art of war, but

has before him the fruits of a man's meditations to whom the science of politics had been a professional study. And I will answer for it, no one ever went attentively through the Utopia, without acknowledging it to be full of those profound observations and shrewd insights into human nature, peculiar to those who have tested their philosophy by living freely among mankind.

Having thus artfully announced these facts, he proceeds with his account of the embassy, and the persons who, on both sides, were engaged in it. By one of those checks, which too often bring the affairs of nations to a standstill, negociations are suspended; and, during the interval of leisure thus created, Sir Thomas More pays a visit to Antwerp, where one of the principal citizens happens to be his intimate friend. Antwerp was then the centre of a vast commerce, and the greatest emporium in Europe. Thither merchandize of all kinds was borne as to the common mart of civilization, and in its busy streets strangers from every part of the world might, at any hour of the day, be seen. It was, in short, in those days, all that London, on a grander scale, is now.

Here, by the instrumentality of his good friend, Peter Giles, the author becomes known to a Portuguese gentleman, one of that restless class whom the glorious enterprises of De Gama and Columbus had unmoored from their peaceful habits, and sent wandering in romantic ambition through the oceans of the further east. "One day," says More, "as I was returning home from mass at St.

Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him by accident talking with a stranger, that seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging careless about him, so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman." But in this he was wrong. The Portuguese proved not to be a seaman, but a gentleman of classical accomplishments and habits of thinking, who, like Anaxagoras, had shared among his brothers the wealth he inherited, ran fortunes with Americus Vespucius, borne a share in three of his four voyages, and acquired a more copious knowledge of distant nations and countries, than any other man then alive.

The reader, I think, is thus in some measure prepared for a recital of wonderful things, no less so than the θαυμασία of Theopompos; and, as this extraordinary man comes forward more prominently, and gives vent cautiously and by halves to the opinions to which his mind has given birth, after long travail and many pangs, our curiosity is strongly piqued, and we grow exceedingly eager to be initiated in those mysteries through which he has arrived at conclusions so completely out of the common order. But he is slow to gratify us. And, perhaps, looking at the work as a rhetorician, this very slowness is a defect. For, while we are longing to be on the ocean with him, to learn all his travel's history, wherein, we doubt not, his hint will be to speak

——"Of antres vast and deserts idle,
Rough quarries, rocks, and hills, whose heads touch heaven,
And of the cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi ; and men whose heads,
Do grow beneath their shoulders ;"

the man enters upon a caustic, though very just criticism of European courts, which he describes as a nest of rogues, and such persons as usually are rogues' companions.

The theme, it must be acknowledged, is both fertile and interesting ; but, like the corresponding animadversions on existing governments in Plato's "Republic," it might more artfully and effectually have been introduced, by way of contrast and comparison, into the account of Utopia itself. This would be better than marshalling it, as he has done, at the threshold of the Republic, or appending it, where it would scarcely be read, at the end, as is done by Dion Chrysostom in his beautiful piece entitled the "Hunter," which, after drawing an exquisite picture of rural happiness, degenerates into a coarse satire on the vices of the age. At any rate, I shall pass it over, and proceed at once to the second book, in which the Portuguese traveller describes the extraordinary Republic which he had discovered somewhere about the American shores.

Sir Thomas More, influenced by partiality for the condition of his native country, erects his commonwealth upon an island—a position more favourable to independence and freedom than any other, as Pericles clearly intimates in Thucydides. In one particular he differs materially from the majo-

rity of ancient legislators; for, whereas a principal tendency of their institutions was to banish merchants, and abridge the intercourse of nations, his Utopians are furnished with every inducement to trade with their neighbours, particularly an abundance of excellent harbours, with which the whole coast, he says, was indented. The regulation, however, was not in very strict keeping with some other of their institutions; since they were a people indifferent to gain, without which very little commerce, I take it, would be carried on in the world.

One of the objects aimed at by the laws of Utopia was uniformity and sameness. It seems to have been supposed that concord would be best promoted by bringing all the people to resemble each other as much as possible, in habits, manners, and opinions. Even the material structure, therefore, of the fifty-four cities scattered over the island, was as near as possible the same; and every contrivance which could be thought of for diffusing through the country one single standard of mind and morals was studiously employed. Above all things the legislator appears to have desired to create or keep alive among them a taste for rural pursuits and the pleasures of the country. "They have built over the whole island," he says, "farm-houses for husbandmen, which are well contrived and furnished with all things necessary for country labour. Inhabitants are sent by turns from the cities to dwell in them: no country family has fewer than forty men and women in it, besides two slaves. There is a master and a mis-

tress set over every family; and over thirty families there is a magistrate settled. Every year twenty of this family come back to the town, after they have remained two years in the country; and in their room there are other twenty sent from the town, that they may learn country work from those that have been already one year in the country, which they must teach those that come to them the next year from the town. By this means such as dwell in those farms are never ignorant of agriculture, and so commit no errors in it, which might otherwise be fatal to them, and bring them under a scarcity of corn."

It is extremely questionable whether such a regulation as this would promote the happiness or worldly welfare of any community. In the first place, moral, like physical harmony, consists, not in an amalgamation of numerous similar parts, but in the nice arrangement and adaptation of parts wholly unlike, though suited to co-operate with each other in producing a common end. A well-formed human body, for example, does not consist of many heads, or many feet, or many hands; but of one head, and numerous members in no respects like itself, though fitted each to its place. And it must be exactly so in a commonwealth. There must be husbandmen, there must be artificers, there must be individuals educated and fitted to rule; and each must preserve the shape and fulfil the offices appointed him by nature, otherwise not harmony, but confusion will be the result.

Besides, More appears in this regulation to for-

get how great a source of delight custom is. The artificer, by custom, learns to delight in his business, the husbandman in his fields. What he performs daily grows into his habits, forms part of his most cherished associations, becomes in the end necessary to his comfort. To tear him violently every year or two from occupations become pleasing and easy to him, that he may encounter the disgust and ennui which invariably accompany the performance of irksome, because unfamiliar tasks, would therefore be a cruel error in legislation, even if in practice it should not be found impossible. But impossible it would undoubtedly prove; or, at least, incompatible with that progress and improvement in the arts of life which should form one of the great aims of government.

Something of this the author appears to have himself felt; for immediately upon the heels of the account he subjoins: "But though there is every year such a shifting of the husbandmen, that none may be forced against his will to follow that hard course of life too long; yet many among them take such pleasure in it, that they desire leave to continue many years engaged in these rural occupations." Exactly; habits will be formed, and men will be loath to break them. But, while those who love the country desire and obtain leave to remain in it, others must, by the same cause, continue in the cities; and, the multitude of these increasing, things will quickly lapse into their natural channel, out of which they should never have been forced.

Upon the practice of rural economy, as it existed among the Utopians, it is unnecessary to remark. It doubtless included all the improvements known in Sir Thomas More's time, with some revived by himself from hints furnished by the ancients; such, for example, as the hatching of eggs in ovens, which has prevailed from time immemorial in Egypt. In the town habits, moreover, which are connected with the ordinary business of life, there is much less variety than one might be at first tempted to imagine, which is the case also with those contrivances that men have recourse to for the purpose of comfort or safety; for, to preserve something like verisimilitude in the constitution of imaginary states, it is absolutely necessary to fashion them after the model of others known to have existed. The capital, likewise, in size, form, grandeur, and conveniences, is, in Utopia, altogether such a place as might very well have existed. It is built modestly upon calculation, not like Martin's cities, a kind of Nephelococcygia, erected of airy materials in the clouds; and the description, for minuteness, cautious avoidance of extravagance, truth of detail, and consequent perspicuity, falls little short of Gulliver's best efforts in this way, or even of Defoe's, which no Dutch painter ever excelled.

Having comprehensively described both the country and the principal city, which all the others resemble, he proceeds to explain the form and nature of their government. And here, of course, whatever his private convictions may have been,

he was constrained to treat with some deference the prejudices of his age. Monarchy, however, he would under no modification establish. His constitution is purely republican. For, above all things, the object of the Utopia seems to be the utter exploding of

"The enormous faith of many made for one;"

and the advocating of the doctrine that the happiness of the people is the sole end and purpose of government. There is, indeed, a magistrate whom he denominates a prince; but few sovereigns would be content to rule on such conditions. "The prince is for life, *unless* he is *removed* upon *suspicion* of some design to enslave the *people*." We have, therefore, not a life Archon, or even a decennial Archon, but a chief magistrate, practically removable at pleasure; for the people's representatives could easily *suspect* of evil designs whomsoever they desired to remove.

There is some intricacy in the theory of representation.—In the first place, the people choose certain magistrates, called Philarchs, one for every thirty families; but, over every ten of these magistrates, together with the families under their jurisdiction, is placed another magistrate, called an Archphilarch. He does not however explain by whom the Archphilarchs are elected, though they form a sort of perpetual parliament, or national council, who consult with the archon on the state of public affairs. The chief magistrate is elected by the Philarchs out of four persons nominated by

the four principal divisions of the capital; and, in order that neither fear nor the expectation of favour might influence the electors, they vote by ballot. Sir Thomas, we see, had advanced, at least in some things, beyond his own age, and even beyond ours. At a time when royalty was strongest, he recommended its abolition; and, in lieu of that corrupt system of voting which oppressors maintain, because it perpetuates their power, he sought to substitute that mode of exercising the right of suffrage which may be regarded as the chief Palladium of freedom.

Moreover, not content with the ballot, and a chief magistrate removable at pleasure, the Lord Chancellor of Henry the Eighth advocates annual parliaments and universal suffrage. His faith in the public virtue of men was small. He would put it out of their power to commit treachery against the commonwealth, by bringing them every year into the hands of their constituencies, who might either continue them in parliament and in office, or decline their services, as their conduct appeared to deserve. Indeed, though the senators might be re-elected, he appears tacitly to have made a law prohibiting men from accepting the office of magistrate a second time, at least without some interval between. "The archphilarchs are now chosen every year, but yet they are for the most part still continued. All their other magistrates are *only* annual."

His distrust of rulers, even when selected with greatest care, and checked by most restraints, bursts

strikingly forth in the brief section on magistrates. He rightly judges that nothing is so congenial, in general, to men so employed, as to seek by every practicable art to overreach their employers, and from servants to become masters;—which, as he well knew, is the origin of monarchy; and, therefore, above all things, is anxious so to fence round public liberty with difficult barriers, that even the ablest tyrants shall scarcely be able to transgress them. "The Archphilarchs meet every third day," he says, "and oftener if need be, and consult with the prince, either concerning the affairs of the state in general, or such private differences as may arise sometimes among the people: though that falls out but seldom. There are always two philarchs called into the council-chamber, and these are changed every day. It is a fundamental rule of their government, that no conclusion can be made in anything that relates to the public till it has been first debated three several days in their council. It is death for any to meet and consult concerning the state, unless it be either in their ordinary council, or in the assembly of the whole body of the people;" that is, in parliament, or in public meetings.

Sir Thomas More was wise enough to perceive that, in reality, there can be no danger to the state from the democracy. Their interest must always be to strengthen and preserve all such institutions as promote the public weal. Not so with the rulers and senators. "These things," he observes, "have been so provided among them, that the *prince*

and the *archphilarchs* may not conspire together to change the government, and enslave the people; and, therefore, when anything of great importance is set on foot, it is sent to the philarchs, who, after they have communicated it to the families that belong to their division, and have considered it among themselves, make report to the senate; and, upon great occasions, the matter is referred to the council of the whole island. One rule observed in their council is, never to debate a thing on the same day on which it is first proposed; for that is always referred to the next meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the heat of discourse, engage themselves too soon, which may bias them so much, that instead of considering the good of the public, they will rather study to maintain their own notions; and, by a perverse and preposterous sort of shame, hazard their country, rather than endanger their own reputation, or venture being suspected to have wanted foresight in the expedients that they proposed at first. And, therefore, to prevent this, they take care that they may rather be deliberate, than sudden in their motions."

Sir Thomas is exceedingly brief, however, in his development of the actual form of their government; and, having announced the fact that the constitution was republican, prefers the employment of hint and innuendo, to the more open advocacy of his principles. He appears to lay no particular stress on the organic structure of the commonwealth. He states it, indeed, candidly and fairly; but, as if other circumstances should be

considered of more moment, hastens on to the development of manners, and the practical working of the machine. Not that such was his conviction; for as a statesman it must have been intimately known to him, that of political entities theory is the soul; but because prejudice is less alarmed by the following out of consequences, than by the bold enunciation of principles, which startle while naked, but, disguised in the material husk of circumstances, steal imperceptibly upon the mind, and become familiar to it before their true nature has perhaps been discovered.

Besides, to the vulgar it is more agreeable to behold difficulties overcome, than to examine laboriously all the complicated machinery by which the effect is produced. They lack the patience to learn in detail the name and office of each wheel, and pulley, and spring, hidden in the understorey of politics, by which the beautiful results they contemplate on the surface of society are originated, and pronounce insipid every attempt to introduce them to their knowledge. Consequently, politicians like Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon blink the question of causes, at least in a great measure, and confine themselves to what is visible.

Pursuing this course of policy, More applies himself diligently to what may be termed political discipline. He shows by what arts and contrivances men should be trained to obedience and the practice of industry, regulates the processes of agriculture and trade, and even condescends, in imitation of the legislators of antiquity, to regulate the

costume and toilette of the ladies. From this minute attention to what so peculiarly belongs to their province, the ladies, however, had they been consulted, might probably have relieved him; especially as, by his regulations, their wardrobe is so unmercifully curtailed. But, once engaged in the adjustment of scarfs and petticoats, the legislator knows not where to stop. He appears to have relished the topic. He returns to it again and again; but only at length to determine that they must content themselves with spinning their own raiment, and appear habited exactly the same at Christmas and in the dogdays.

All the property of the community is common, and applied to its use as the property of a family is applied to the use of all its members. The magistrates watch over its production and distribution. Common tables are introduced, as at Sparta, at which both sexes are present. Indeed, the whole of this part of Utopian economics is nearly a transcript of those Doric institutions, as reformed and modified by Lycurgus, which prevailed in the great Peloponnesian republic; and, consequently, however liable to the charge of extravagance, can neither be called new nor impracticable, since they actually were reduced to practice during many centuries, and that, too, with the consent and approbation of the people.

The regulation interfering with the power of locomotion, and that curious machinery of passports since imitated to so great an extent on the continent, likewise originated among the Spartan

oligarchs, who by every means possible sought to cut off all intercourse between themselves and the rest of mankind. I may apply the same remark to their proscription of the precious metals, and all those enervating luxuries, their companions, which enfeeble and debase the mind, without being the parent of any healthful enjoyment. In all such luxuries as are harmless they delight; and, from a remark which the legislator accidentally lets fall, it appears that even unlawful and forbidden pleasures are abstained from, not because they are in themselves base or hurtful, but because their religion prohibits them. This is a low and a dangerous doctrine. Religion forbids no pleasures not in themselves or in their consequences evil; and it forbids them simply because they are evil, and would diminish the happiness of those who taste them. It is superstition that proscribes the pleasant and proper use of any gift whatever bestowed by the Almighty upon man.

With regard to the religion of the Utopians, it may be said that it was a species of refined paganism, in some respects better than the corrupt Christianity of Sir Thomas More's contemporaries. Its cardinal tenets, he observes, were, "that the soul of man is immortal, and that God of his goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that he has therefore appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions, and punishments for vice, to be distributed after this life. And though these principles of religion are conveyed down among them by tradition, they think that even reason

itself determines a man to receive and acknowledge them."

However, contrary to what might have been expected, the legislator throws aside in the matter of religion that uniformity which, in other respects, he seems so earnestly to covet. On this awful topic he refuses to dogmatise. We know historically how wofully he belied in practice the theory of toleration here developed; but we have to do, just now, with his work only, and in this his aversion to persecute for conscience' sake is extreme. "There are several sorts of religions," he says, "not only in different parts of the island, but even in every town; some worshipping the sun, others the moon, or one of the planets. Some worship such men as have been eminent in former times for virtue or glory, not only as ordinary deities, but as the supreme God. Yet the greater and wiser sort of them worship none of these, but adore one eternal, invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible Deity, as a Being that is far above our apprehensions, that is spread over the whole universe, not by its bulk, but by its power and virtue: him they call the 'Father of all,' and acknowledge that the beginnings, the increase, the progress, the vicissitudes, and the end of all things come only from him; nor do they offer divine honours to any but to him alone. And, indeed, though they differ concerning other things, yet all agree in this—that they think there is one Supreme Being that made and governs the world, whom they call, in the language of their country, Mithras."

He enters at considerable length into the institutions of religion, but the above is the basis of the whole. At this period of his life, Sir Thomas More clearly belonged, in feelings and opinions, to the Reformers; for he loses no opportunity of aiming deadly blows at Catholicism, which is only distinguished from Protestantism by its abuses. He more particularly abhorred its priests, and those swarms of monks, friars, and other vagabonds who spread themselves over the face of the Christian world, corrupting its doctrines, and perverting its discipline. He rises, by the mere force of reason, to the apprehension of those truths since made abundantly manifest by the spread of the Reformation, and is filled with a species of piety, not precisely that of Christianity, but what approaches it most nearly—the piety of philosophy. Sir Thomas More is scarcely a Christian in the Utopia. He believes, indeed, and believes earnestly, the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel; but, as yet, his faith was rather an unregenerate persuasion, than that conviction which kindles the soul, and raises it to a participation of all divine truth. He seems to admit Christianity like a system of philosophy. He is not penetrated by its spirit of charity: he has not imbibed all its tenderness for human life; his mind overflows not with that unspeakable benevolence which pervades the Sermon on the Mount, and spreads a calm indescribable over all who hear it—for it still speaks. Nevertheless, throughout the Utopia, a high tone of religious feeling, and, with few

exceptions, a rigid system of morals are discernible; as the reader who proceeds from this brief introduction to examine the work itself will immediately perceive.

J. A. ST. JOHN.

Hampstead, December, 1837.

UTOPIA:

OR,

THE HAPPY REPUBLIC.

PREFACE.

BY BISHOP BURNET.

THERE is no way of writing so proper, for the refining and polishing a language, as the translating of books into it, if he that undertakes it has a competent skill of the one tongue, and is a master of the other. When a man writes his own thoughts, the heat of his fancy, and the quickness of his mind, carry him so much after the notions themselves, that for the most part he is too warm to judge of the aptness of words, and the justness of figures; so that he either neglects these too much, or over-does them: but when a man translates, he has none of these heats about him: and therefore the French took no ill method, when they intended to reform and beautify their language, in setting their best writers on work to translate the Greek and Latin authors into it. There is so little praise got by translations, that a man cannot be engaged to it out of vanity, for it has passed for a sign of a slow mind, that can amuse itself with so mean an entertainment; but we begin to grow wiser, and though ordinary translators must succeed ill in the esteem of the world, yet some have appeared of late that will, I hope, bring that way of writing in credit. The English language has wrought itself out, both of the fulsome pedantry under which it laboured long ago, and the trifling way of dark and unintelligible wit that came after that, and out of the coarse extravagance of canting that suceeded this; but as one extreme commonly produces another, so we were beginning to fly into a sublime pitch of a strong but false rhetoric, which had much corrupted, not only the stage, but even the pulpit; two places,

that though they ought not to be named together, much less to resemble one another; yet it cannot be denied but, the rule and measure of speech is generally taken from them; but that florid strain is almost quite worn out, and is become now as ridiculous as it was once admired. So that without either the expense or labour that the French have undergone, our language has, like a rich wine, wrought out its tartar, and is insensibly brought to a purity that could not have been compassed without much labour, had it not been for the great advantage that we have of a prince, who is so great a judge, that his single approbation or dislike has almost as great an authority over our language, as his prerogative gives him over our coin. We are now so much refined, that how defective soever our imaginations or reasonings may be, yet our language has fewer faults, and is more natural and proper than it was ever at any time before. When one compares the best writers of the last age, with those that excel in this, the difference is very discernible; even the great Sir Francis Bacon, that was the first that wrote our language correctly; as he is still our best author, yet in some places has figures so strong, that they could not pass now before a severe judge. I will not provoke the present masters of the stage, by preferring the authors of the last age to them: for though they all acknowledge that they come far short of B. Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, yet I believe they are better pleased to say this themselves, than to have it observed by others. Their language is now certainly more proper, and more natural than it was formerly, chiefly since the correction that was given by the Rehearsal; and it is to be hoped that the essay on poetry, which may be well matched with the best pieces of its kind that even Augustus's age produced, will have a more powerful operation, if clear sense, joined with home but gentle reproofs, can work more on our writers than that unmerciful exposing of them has done.

I have now much leisure, and want diversion, so I have bestowed some of my hours upon translations, in which I have proposed no ill patterns to myself: but the reader will be best able to judge whether I have copied skilfully after such origi-

nals. This small volume which I now publish, being written by one of the greatest men that this island has produced, seemed to me to contain so many fine and well-digested notions, that I thought it might be no unkind nor ill entertainment to the nation to put a book in their hands to which they have so good a title, and which has a very common fate upon it, to be more known and admired all the world over than here at home. It was once translated into English not long after it was written; and I was once apt to think it might have been done by Sir Thomas More himself: for as it is in the English of his age, and not unlike his style; so the translator has taken a liberty that seems too great for any but the author himself, who is master of his own book, and so may leave out or alter his original as he pleases: which is more than a translator ought to do. I am sure it is more than I have presumed to do.

It was written in the year 1516, as appears by the date of the letter of Peter Giles, in which he says that it was sent him but a few days before from the author, and that bears date the 1st of November that year; but I cannot imagine how he comes to be called sheriff of London in the title of the book, for in all our printed catalogues of sheriffs his name is not to be found. I do not think myself concerned in the matter of his book, no more than any other translator is in his author, nor do I think More himself went in heartily to that which is the chief basis of his Utopia, the taking away of all property, and the levelling of the world; but that he only intended to set many notions in his reader's way; and that he might nor seem too much in earnest, he went so far out of all roads to do it the less suspected. The earnestness with which he recommends the precaution used in marriages among the Utopians makes one think that he had a misfortune in his own choice, and that therefore he was so cautious on that head; for the strictness of his life covers him from severe censures; his setting out so barbarous a practice as the hiring of assassins to take off enemies, is so wild and so immoral both, that it does not admit of anything to soften or excuse it, much less to justify it; and the advising men in some cases to put an end to their lives, notwithstanding all the cau-

tion with which he guards it, is a piece of rough and fierce philosophy. The tenderest part of the whole work was the representation he gives of Henry the Seventh's court; and his discourses upon it, towards the end of the first book, in which his disguise is so thin that the matter would not have been much plainer if he had named him: but when he ventured to write so freely of the father in the son's reign, and to give such an idea of government under the haughtiest prince, and the most impatient of uneasy restraints that ever reigned in England, who yet was so far from being displeased with him for it, that as he made him long his particular friend, so he employed him in all his affairs afterwards, and raised him to be Lord Chancellor, I thought I might venture to put it in more modern English: for as the translators of Plutarch's Heroes, or of Tully's Offices, are not concerned, either in the maxims or in the actions that they relate; so I, who only tell, in the best English I can, what Sir Thomas More wrote in very elegant Latin, must leave his thoughts and notions to the reader's censure, and do think myself liable for nothing but the fidelity of the translation, and the correctness of the English; and for that I can only say, that I have written as carefully, and as well as I can.

UTOPIA.

LETTER FROM SIR THOMAS MORE

TO

PETER GILES.

I AM almost ashamed, my dearest Peter Giles, to send you this book of the Utopian commonwealth, after almost a year's delay; whereas no doubt you looked for it within six weeks: for as you know I had no occasion for using my invention, or for taking pains to put things into any method, because I had nothing to do, but to repeat exactly those things that I heard Raphael relate in your presence; so neither was there any occasion given for a studied eloquence; since as he delivered things to us of the sudden, and in a careless style, so he being, as you know, a greater master of the Greek,[1]

[1] This is well known to have been the case with Sir Thomas More himself, as the reader of the Utopia will have frequent occasion to observe. And he seems to have preferred the institutions of Greece, no less than her language and literature, before those of Rome; in this differing from his worthy great-grandson, Thomas More, Esq. who considered the Roman commonwealth "the best of all other." Many writers of merit and

than of the Latin, the plainer my words are, they will resemble his simplicity the more, and will be by consequence the nearer to the truth; and that is all that I think lies on me, and it is indeed the only thing in which I thought myself concerned. I confess, I had very little left on me in this matter, for otherwise the inventing and ordering of such a scheme, would have put a man of an ordinary pitch, either of capacity, or of learning, to some pains, and have cost him some time;[2] but if it had been necessary that this relation should have been made not only truly, but eloquently, it could never have been performed by me, even after all the pains and time that I could have bestowed upon it. My part in it was so very small, that it could not give me much trouble, all that belonged to me

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acuteness entertain a similar predilection for the "Wolves of Italy;" but I agree with Sir Thomas, whose opinion as a statesman and philosopher is not to be despised. His Hellenism, however, will more evidently appear as we proceed; for, in many respects, the Utopia but recommends what the polities of Greece actually reduced to practice.

[2] There is much rhetorical art in this. The reader is led to believe that a work which, in reality, cost the author many years' labour, and is the fruit of a whole life's meditations, was struck off carelessly at a heat. What he finds good in it, therefore, he attributes to the fertile genius and felicitous imagination of the writer; and readily accounts for all defects by the haste in which he supposes it to have been written. Most persons, a little elevated above the common level, desire what they publish to be considered the spontaneous production of their wisdom, rather than of their learning. But the true philosopher, perhaps, will disdain all artifice, and be anxious to appear before his reader as he appears to himself; claiming as his own what is so, and acknowledging all else.

being only to give a true and full account of the things that I had heard; but although this required so very little of my time, yet even that little was long denied me by my other affairs, which press much upon me: for while in pleading, and hearing, and in judging or composing of causes, in waiting on some men upon business, and others out of respect, the greatest part of the day is spent on other men's affairs, the remainder of it must be given to my family at home: so that I can reserve no part of it to myself, that is, to my study: I must talk with my wife, and chat with my children, and I have somewhat to say to my servants; for all these things I reckon as a part of business, except a man will resolve to be a stranger at home: and with whomsoever either nature, or chance, or choice has engaged a man, in any commerce, he must endeavour to make himself as acceptable to those about him, as he possibly can; using still such a temper in it, that he may not spoil them by an excessive gentleness, so that his servants may not become his masters.[3] In such things as I have named to you,

[3] Lord Bacon, who was as cunning as he was able, pretended to this amiable weakness when he had been found guilty of perverting justice for gain. Passing one day through the court, where his numerous retainers were drawn up to behold their lord, and rose at his approach, "Sit down, my masters," said he, "your rise hath been my fall." This remark has answered its purpose. It was intended to throw dust in the eyes of posterity, and it has done so. The only question, however, is, if he knew those ravenous harpies were not to be maintained without injustice, why did he keep them? His own vanity, not their rapacity, was the cause of his fall, but this he was unwilling the world should perceive.

do days, months, and years slip away; what is then left for writing?[4] And yet I have said nothing of that time that must go for sleep, or for meat: in which many do waste almost as much of their time as in sleep, which consumes very near the half of our life; and indeed all the time which I can gain to myself is that which I steal from my sleep and my meals; and because that is not much, I have made but a slow progress; yet because it is somewhat, I have at last got to an end of my Utopia, which I now send to you, and expect that after you have read it, you will let me know if you can put me in mind of anything that has escaped me; for though I would think myself very happy, if I had but as much invention and learning as I know I have memory, which makes me generally depend much upon it, yet I do not rely so entirely on it, as to think I can forget nothing.[5]

My servant, John Clement, has started some

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[4] In a person holding such offices as were filled by Sir Thomas More, this was no idle excuse. That he could find leisure for writing at all was to his contemporaries matter of as much wonder, as Lord Brougham's industry has been to the people of our own times. In all these cases a habit of order, and a rigid economy of time, are at the bottom of what is thought a marvel. Such men are never idle, though often at leisure. Employing their time properly, they have time for everything.

[5] No, certainly; and therefore we must be prepared for some mistakes and inconsistencies in the work. Nothing is more natural than a lapse of memory. The existence and excellence of the Utopian polity are not to be called in question, because Sir Thomas happens to omit an explanation, mistake a fact, or even misunderstand the reason or nature of a law or custom.

things that shake me: you know he was present with us, as I think he ought to be at every conversation that may be of use to him, for I promise myself great matters from the progress he has so early made in the Greek and Roman learning. As far as my memory serves me, the bridge over Anider at Amaurot, was five hundred paces broad, according to Raphael's account; but John assures me, he spoke only of three hundred paces;[6] therefore I pray you recollect what you can remember of this, for if you agree with him, I will believe that I have been mistaken; but if you remember nothing of it, I will not alter what I have written, because it is according to the best of my remembrance: for as I will take care that there may be nothing falsely set down; so if there is any thing doubtful, though I may perhaps tell a lie, yet I am sure I will not make one; for I would rather pass

[6] The reader will probably detect in this and similar passages much of the manner of that very exact and instructive traveller, LEMUEL GULLIVER; and may probably concur with me in supposing the said traveller to be not a little indebted to the Utopia. It must be owned that More well understood the art of lying like truth. There is nothing that communicates to a narrative so great an air of matter of fact as such little corrections as this, and dwelling on minute particulars; as Æschines cunningly objects to his great rival in his Speech on the Embassy. "He will tell you," says he, "the very day on which some imaginary event took place; and not only so, but name at once some imaginary individual who witnessed it, exactly imitating the manner of persons who relate what is true." De Falsa Legat. §. 48. Conf. Casaub. ad Theophrast. Charact. p. 209. Defoe and Swift adopted this natural style of writing, which is also that of Bunyan, who may, perhaps, be said to have carried it to perfection.

for a good man than for a wise man: but it will be easy to correct this mistake, if you can either meet with Raphael himself, or know how to write to him.

I have another difficulty that presses me more, and makes your writing to him the more necessary: I know not whom I ought to blame for it, whether Raphael, you, or myself; for as we did not think of asking it, so neither did he of telling us, in what part of the new-found world Utopia is situated; this was such an omission that I would gladly redeem it at any rate: I am ashamed, that after I have told so many things concerning this island, I cannot let my readers know in what sea it lies. There are some among us that have a mighty desire to go thither, and in particular, one pious divine is very earnest on it, not so much out of a vain curiosity of seeing unknown countries, as that he may advance our religion, which is so happily begun to be planted there; and that he may do this regularly, he intends to procure a mission from the Pope, and to be sent thither as their Bishop.[7] In such a case as this, he makes no scruple of aspiring to that character, and thinks it is the rather meritorious to be ambitious of it,

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[7] This, I believe, was no fiction. At least, Sir Thomas's great-grandson tells us, that "many great learned men, as Budæus and Johannes Paludanus, upon a fervent zeal, wished that some excellent divines might be sent thither to preach Christ's gospel; yea, there were here amongst us at home, sundry good men and learned divines very anxious to take the voyage, to bring the people to the faith of Christ, whose manners

when one desires it only for advancing the Christian religion, and not for any honour or advantage that may be had by it, but is actuated merely by a pious zeal. Therefore I earnestly beg it of you, if you can possibly meet with Raphael, or if you know how to write to him, that you will be pleased to inform yourself of these things, that there may be no falsehood left in my book, nor any important truth wanting. And perhaps it will not be unfit to let him see the book itself: for as no man can correct any errors that may be in it, so well as he; so by reading it, he will be able to give a more perfect judgment of it than he can do upon any discourse concerning it: and you will be likewise able to discover whether this undertaking of mine is acceptable to him or not; for if he intends to write a relation of his travels, perhaps he will not be pleased that I should prevent him, in that part that belongs to the Utopian commonwealth; since if I should do so, his book will not surprise the world with the pleasure which this new discovery will give the age. And I am so little fond of appearing in print upon this occasion, that if he dislikes it, I will lay it aside; and even though he should approve of it, I am not positively determined as to publishing of it. Men's tastes differ

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they did so well like." In point of fact, though there happened to be no such place as Utopia, neither the description of the country nor the manners of the people contained any thing which might not then be credited, when the recent discovery of America had disposed men's minds to believe, nay, to expect daily a revelation of new wonders.

much; some are of so morose a temper, so sour a disposition, and make such absurd judgments of things, that men of cheerful and lively tempers, who indulge their genius, seem much more happy, than those who waste their time and strength in order to the publishing some book, that though of itself it might be useful or pleasant, yet instead of being well received, will be sure to be either loathed at, or censured.[8] Many know nothing of learning, and others despise it; a man that is accustomed to a coarse and hard style, thinks every thing is rough that is not barbarous. Our trifling pretenders to learning, think all is slight that is not drest up in words that are worn out of use; some love only old things, and many like nothing but what is their own. Some are so sour that they can allow no jests, and others are so dull that they can endure nothing that is sharp; and some are as much afraid of anything that is quick or lively, as a man bit with a mad dog is of water; others are so light and unsettled, that their thoughts change as quick as

[8] Critics have always been the dread of authors, but undoubtedly without much cause; for, unless they succeed, as they seldom do, in strangling a book in the birth, their animadversions fall into oblivion, and the work survives. Besides, they are not always mistaken in their judgments; but, instead of fastening upon a man of genius, and baiting him to death, kindly lend their aid in making known his pretensions, and recommending him to the public. Cases of this description are of course exceptions to the general rule; but they do happen, and every writer should hope they may in his particular instance.

they do their postures; and some, when they meet in taverns, take upon them among their cups to pass censures very freely on all writers; and with a supercilious liberty to condemn every thing they do not like: in which they have the advantage that a bald man has, who can catch hold of another by the hair, while the other cannot return the like upon him.[9] They are safe as it were of gunshot, since there is nothing in them considerable enough to be taken hold of. And some are so unthankful, that even when they are well pleased with a book, yet they think they owe nothing to the author; and are like those rude guests, who after they have been well entertained at a good dinner, go away when they have glutted their appetites, without so much as thanking him that treated them. But who would put himself to the charge of making a feast for men of such nice palates, and so different tastes, who are so forgetful of the civilities that are done?[10] But do you once clear those points with Raphael, and then it will be time enough to consider whether it be fit to publish it

[9] This humorous remark reminds me of an anecdote which I heard from a Roman Catholic priest. During the disputes between the rival clergies in Ireland, a Protestant, intending to be very hard upon his adversaries, observed very angrily to a priest, "Why, you carry your iniquity so far, as sometimes to corrupt our wives." "It may be so," replied the priest, "but at any rate you cannot return us the compliment."

[10] This will remind the reader of that apt comparison of a book to an ordinary, in the opening of Tom Jones, where the author observes that every one considers he has a right, when he pays for it, to damn his dinner as much as he pleases. And so, no doubt, he has; and if it helps his digestion, one cannot

or not; for since I have been at the pains to write it, if he consents to the publishing it I will follow my friends' advice, and chiefly yours. Farewell my dear Peter: commend me kindly to your good wife, and love me still as you used to do, for I assure you I love you daily more and more.

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grudge it him. Sir Thomas More seems to forget that men sometimes *buy* books, which, at least in their opinion, gives them an absolute power over the author, to damn or praise him, just as the humour prompts.

THE DISCOURSES

OF

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,

OF THE

BEST STATE OF A COMMONWEALTH.

BOOK I.

Henry the Eighth, the unconquered king of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great monarch ;[11] having some differences

[11] From this one may judge how very few virtues Sir Thomas thought "a great monarch" ought to possess; for a more worthless tyrant than Henry VIII., history has scarcely recorded in its annals. The truth, no doubt, is, that the author, conscious he was about to write many offensive truths, was desirous of disarming, by flattery, the despot whom our "glorious constitution" allowed the power of life and death over him. "Under governments so much disposed towards encroachment on popular freedom," observes Dr. Vaughan, in his History of England, "as were those of the House of Tudor, it was not to have been expected that the liberty of the subject would always be held sacred, inasmuch as the powers of arresting obnoxious persons at pleasure, without being obliged to assign any cause for such acts, or being under the necessity of bringing such persons to trial, is that to which arbitrary princes have generally clung with the utmost tenacity." Chap. xi. p. 176. Even the acknowledgment, however, of Henry's numerous "virtues" could not save the writer from the executioner's axe; which is sufficient to show what value should be set on that farce, called the Constitution, in the time of the Tudors.

of no small consequence with Charles, the most serene Prince of Castile, sent me into Flanders, as his ambassador, for treating and composing matters between them. I was colleague and companion to that incomparable man Cuthbert Tonstal, whom the king made lately Master of the Rolls, with such an universal applause; of whom I will say nothing, not because I fear that the testimony of a friend will be suspected, but rather because his learning and virtues are greater than that they can be set forth with advantage by me, and they are so well known, that they need not my commendations, unless I would, according to the the proverb, "Show the sun with a lantern."[12] Those that were appointed by the prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges, according to agreement; they were all worthy men. The margrave of Bruges was their head, and the chief man among them; but he that was esteemed the wisest, and that spoke for the rest, was George Temse, the provost of Casselsee; both art and nature had concurred to make him eloquent: he was very learned in the law; and as he had a great capacity, so by a long practice in affairs he was very dexterous at them. After we had met once and again, and could not come to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days, to receive the prince's plea-

[12] Lord Chesterfield considers the employment of proverbs vulgar; but Sir Thomas More, even though Theophrastos had long before intimated the same thing, would not be deterred from introducing into his work any form of speech that might tend to embellish it.

sure. And, since our business did admit of it, I went to Antwerp: while I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other—Peter Giles, born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honour, and of a good rank in his town; yet it is not such as he deserves: for I do not know if there be anywhere to be found a more learned and a better bred young man: for as he is both a very worthy person and a very knowing man; so he is so civil to all men, and yet so particularly kind to his friends, and is so full of candour and affection, that there is not, perhaps, above one or two to be found anywhere that is in all respects so perfect a friend as he is. He is extraordinarily modest, there is no artifice in him; and yet no man has more of a prudent simplicity than he has. His conversation was so pleasant, and so innocently cheerful, that his company did in a great measure lessen any longings to go back to my country, and to my wife and children, which an absence of four months had quickened very much. One day, as I was returning home from mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him by accident talking with a stranger that seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman. As soon as Peter saw me he came and saluted me; and, as I was returning his civility, he took me

aside, and, pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said, "Do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you." I answered, "He should have been very welcome on your account." "And on his own too," replied he, "if you knew the man; for there is none alive that can give you so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do; which I know you very much desire." "Then," said I, "I did not guess amiss; for at first sight I took him for a seaman." "But you are much mistaken," said he, "for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveller, or rather as a philosopher; for this Raphael, who from his family carries the name of Hythloday, as he is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, so he is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero.[13] He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world, that he divided his estate among his brothers, and ran fortunes with Americus Vespucius, and bore a share in three of his four voyages that are now published; only he did not remain with him in his last, but obtained leave of him, almost by force, that he

[13] To this I would not subscribe. There is much valuable philosophy in Lucretius, though his general theory be false; and the elder Pliny, a naturalist, indeed, but an able one, is full of a bold kind of philosophy, much in the carping vein of Seneca.

might be one of those four-and-twenty who were left at the furthest place at which they touched, in their last voyage to New Castile. The leaving him thus did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home to be buried in his own country; for he used often to say that the way to heaven was the same from all places;[14] and he that had no grave had the heavens still over him. Yet this disposition of mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five Castilians, had travelled over many countries, at last, by a strange good fortune, he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calicut, and there he very happily found some Portuguese ships; and so, beyond all men's expectations, he came back to his own country." When Peter had said this to me, I thanked him for his kindness in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man whose conversation he knew would be so acceptable to me; and upon that Raphael and I embraced

[14] This is an ingenious application of the saying of Anaxagoras, which, because it is good, has found a place in most works where a contempt of death is inculcated. I have found it, however, in no author older than Cicero's time; though, no doubt, he derived it from good sources. "Præclarè Anaxagoras," says he, "qui cum Lampsaci moreretur, quærentibus amicis, vellet ne Clazomenas in patriam, si quid accidisset, auferri, nihil necesse est, inquit, undique enim ad *inferos* tantumdem viæ est." Tusc. Quæst. i. §. 43. Diogenes Laertius probably, as Menage conjectures, made use of Cicero's authority. Πρὸς τὸν ὀνυφορούντα ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης τελευτᾷ, πανταχόθεν, ἔφη, ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ εἰς ᾅδου κατάβασις. II. iii. 11. Annot. p. 79. d. Erasmus, of course, has it, Apophth. VII. 561. with slight variations.

one another; and, after those civilities were past which are ordinary for strangers upon their first meeting, we went all to my house; and, entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank, and entertained one another in discourse. He told us, that when Vespucius had sailed away, he and his companions that staid behind in New Castile, did by degrees insinuate themselves into the people of the country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently: and at last they grew not only to live among them without danger, but to converse familiarly with them; and got so far into the heart of a prince, whose name and country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plentifully with all things necessary, and also with the conveniences of travelling: both boats when they went by water, and waggons when they travelled over land; and he sent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see: and after many days' journey, they came to towns, and cities, and to commonwealths, that were both happily governed and well-peopled. Under the equator, and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lay vast deserts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun;[15] the soil was withered, all things

[15] This will doubtless remind the reader of the old fancy which made the torrid zone uninhabitable. Indeed, both here and elsewhere, it is clear Sir Thomas More's notions were strongly affected, if they were not absolutely bounded, in matters of this kind, by what the ancients knew or thought. We find him constantly adopting their opinions both in science and morals; and therefore where they are imperfect, he is nearly always so.

looked dismally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men, that were neither less wild, nor less cruel than the beasts themselves. But as they went further, a new scene opened, all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild: and at last there are nations, towns, and cities, that have not only mutual commerce among themselves, and with their neighbours, but trade both by sea and land, to very remote countries. There they found the conveniences of seeing many countries on all hands, for no ship went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat-bottomed, their sails were made of reeds and wicker woven close together, only some were made of leather;[16] but afterwards they found ships made with round keels and canvass sails, and in all things like our ships; and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully

[16] Here we have a glance at the practices of the further east. The various substances made use of by semi-barbarous nations for sails, are enumerated by Goguet, Origine des Loix, t. iv. p. 260. Hemp, rushes, leaves of trees, and the skins of animals, were among the substances of which the earliest sails consisted. Scheffer. de Re Naval. II. p. 141. Lilius Gyraldus, De Navigiis, col. 635, observes, that sails were also made from broom and papyrus, which he states on the authority of Pliny. Hist. Natur. xiii. 22. Milton speaks of waggons propelled by sails:

> "But in his way lights on the barren plains
> Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
> With sails and wind their cany waggons light."
> *Par. Lost*, iii. 437. ff.

into their favour, by showing them the use of the needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant; and whereas they sailed before with great caution, and only in summer time, now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to the loadstone, in which they are perhaps more secure than safe: so that there is reason to fear, that this discovery, which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may by their imprudence become an occasion of much mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every place; it would be too great a digression from our present purpose: and whatever is necessary to be told, chiefly concerning the wise and prudent institutions that he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no enquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common; for everywhere one may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel men-eaters; but it is not so easy to find states that are well and wisely governed. [17]

But as he told us of many things that were

[17] States are always best governed on paper; but, though this must for ever continue to be the case, few persons will deny that very great improvements might be effected both in the theory and practice of government. Many of these improvements were foreseen and advocated by Sir Thomas More, whose notions in most things were diametrically opposed to those put forward in his name by Mr. Southey, in his "Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society."

amiss in those new-found nations, so he reckoned up not a few things, from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of these nations among whom we live; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at some other time; for at present I intend only to relate those particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians: but I will begin with the occasion that led us to speak of that commonwealth. After Raphael had discoursed with great judgment of the errors that were both among us and these nations, of which there was no small number, and had treated of the wise institutions both here and there, and had spoken as distinctly of the customs and government of every nation through which he had passed, as if he had spent his whole life in it; Peter, being struck with admiration, said, "I wonder, Raphael, how it comes that you enter into no king's service, for I am sure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable: for your learning and knowledge, both of men and things, is such, that you would not only entertain them very pleasantly, but be of good use to them, by the examples that you could set before them, and the advices that you could give them; and by this means you would both serve your own interest, and be of great use to all your friends." "As for my friends," answered he, "I need not be much concerned, having already done all that was incumbent on me towards them; for when I was not only in good health, but fresh and young, I distributed that among my

kindred and friends, which other people do not part with till they are old and sick; and then they unwillingly give among them that which they can enjoy no longer themselves. I think my friends ought to rest contented with this, and not to expect that for their sakes I should enslave myself to any king whatsoever."[18] "Soft and fair," said Peter; "I do not mean that you should be a slave to any king, but only that you should assist them, and be useful to them." "The change of the word," said he, "does not alter the matter." "But term it as you will," replied Peter, "I do not see any other way in which you can be so useful, both in private to your friends and to the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier." "Happier!" answered Raphael, "is that to be compassed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend: and there are so very many that court the favour of great men, that there will be no great loss, if they are not troubled either with me, or with others of my temper." Upon this I said, "I perceive, Raphael, that you neither desire wealth nor greatness; and indeed I value and admire such

[18] It is perfectly evident that Raphael expresses the opinions of the author; for though he sometimes feigns to make opposition to them, it is feebly done, and the victory is left with the imaginary interlocutor. In fact, he had imbibed his notions from the Greek writers, to whom kings were an object of aversion; and if he served Henry VIII., and, as we have seen, could occasionally condescend to flatter him, it was because he yielded to the necessities of the times, and was fain to do all the good in his power.

a man much more than I do any of the great men in the world. Yet I think you would do a thing well becoming so generous and so philosophical a soul as yours is, if you would apply your time and thoughts to public affairs, even though you may happen to find that a little uneasy to yourself; and this you can never do with so much advantage, as by being taken into the council of some great prince, and by setting him on to noble and worthy things, which I know you would do if you were in such a post; for the springs both of good and evil, flow over a whole nation, from the prince, as from a lasting fountain.[19] So much learning as you have, even without practice in affairs; or so great a practice as you have had, without any other learning, would render you a very fit counsellor to any king whatsoever." "You are doubly mistaken," said he, "Mr. More, both in your opinion of me, and in the judgment that you make of things: for as I have not that capacity that you

[19] Cicero's opinions were still more unfavourable to monarchy. He knew of no good that was likely to flow from a court upon the nation, but considered it a source of unmitigated evil; and the experience of mankind, from that time to the present, has done nothing to remove the grounds of this decision. Swift had also adopted a similar opinion: "Three kings protested to me," he observes, "that in their whole reigns they never did once prefer any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided: neither would they do it if they were to live again; and they showed with great strength of reason, that their royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because that positive, confident, restive temper, which virtue infused into a man, was a perpetual clog to public business."—*Gulliver's Travels*, part III. c. viii.

fancy to be in me, so if I had it, the public would not be one jot the better, when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. For most princes apply themselves more to warlike matters, than to the useful arts of peace;[20] and in these I neither have any knowledge, nor do I much desire it. They are generally more set on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing those well that they have; and among the ministers of princes, there are none that either are not so wise as not to need any assistance, or at least that do not think themselves so wise, that they imagine they need none; and if they do court any, it is only those for whom the prince has much personal favour, whom by their fawnings and flatteries they endeavour to fix to their own interests:[21] and indeed nature has so

[20] The reason is evident why kings prefer war to peace: in the former, which besides demands less wisdom, the people's attention is directed from the domestic administration of affairs, to the pompous circumstances of battles, armies, conquests, &c., that, especially if seen from a distance, appear dazzling to the vulgar. If princes, on the other hand, remained at peace, they might be expected to concur in the removal of abuses and improvement of the laws, which would prove a Herculean task and a disagreeable one, too, to persons who know nothing of improvement, and profit by abuses. Hence no king has been a reformer long. A very small modicum of amelioration satisfies him. He starts back and is terrified,

"Even at the sound himself has made;"

and begins soon to believe that things must be well enough as they are.

[21] As it is always desirable to learn wisdom, from whatever quarter it may come, I shall introduce in this place an honest remark or two by persons from whom little honesty was to be expected. "All men love those best who dispute not with them;

made us, that we all love to be flattered, and to please ourselves with our own notions. The old crow loves his young, and the ape his cubs. Now if in such a court, made up of persons that envy all others, and do only admire themselves, one should but propose any thing that he had either read in history, or observed in his travels, the rest would think that the reputation of their wisdom would sink, and that their interests would be much depressed, if they could not run it down: and if all other things failed, then they would fly to this, that such or such things pleased our ancestors, and it were well for us if we could but match them.[22]

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a misfortune, whilst it is among private persons, that is not so much taken notice of; but it becomes remarkable, and grows a public calamity, when this uncomely obsequiousness is practised towards *great* princes, who are *apt* to mistake it for *duty*, and to *prefer it* before such advice as is really good for their service." The reader will perceive that "great princes," as here intended, are not princes distinguished for intellect or wisdom, but whose kingdoms happen to be extensive; otherwise they would not be *apt* to mistake *flattery* for *duty*, or to *prefer* it before sound advice. In fact, the writers go on in the most logical way to prove that these "great princes" are so many fools. No doubt they put the thing as handsomely as they can, and urge the truth very politely; but that makes no difference in the end—the conclusion is the same; and thus they arrive at it syllogistically:—"Flattery is the food of fools; but flattery is the food of kings; *ergo*," &c. But let the writers give it in their own language; "an eminent poet of our own nation calls this flattery *the food of fools;* and it is a plant so guarded and fenced about, so cherished and preserved in *all courts*, that it *never* fails of bringing forth much wretched fruit."—*Sons of Lord Clarendon, Preface to his History*, vol. i. p. 14.

[22] Sir Thomas More, we see, viewed with no less contempt than Bentham, the arguments against innovation drawn from

They would set up their rest on such an answer, as a sufficient confutation of all that could be said; as if this were a great mischief, that any should be found wiser than his ancestors: but though they willingly let go all the good things that were among those of former ages, yet if better things are proposed, they cover themselves obstinately with this excuse, of reverence to past times. I have met with these proud, morose, and absurd judgments of things in many places, particularly once in England." "Was you ever there?" said I. "Yes, I was," answered he, "and staid some months there, not long after the rebellion in the west was suppressed, with a great slaughter of the poor people that were engaged in it.[23]

"I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate, John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, cardinal, and chancellor of England; a man," said he, "Peter, (for Mr. More knows well what he was,) that was not less venerable for his wisdom

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"the wisdom of our ancestors." No man, perhaps, ever put this in a better light than it is here put in the text. Indeed, what can show the ridicule of it more completely or more quietly, than "as if this were a great mischief, that any should be found wiser than his ancestors!" Leigh Hunt could scarcely have expressed the idea more dryly or neatly.

[23] It used to be part of the policy of kings to goad the people into rebellion, that they might have an excuse for thinning them. In modern times they are sacrificed to the Moloch of the excise, that the revenue may be increased; or to the corn-laws, that rents may be kept up; or to tithes, that a wealthy clergy may be maintained; or to the preservation of unhealthy and worthless colonies, that the spare oligarchy may have governorships and liver complaints.

and virtues, than for the high character he bore: he was of a middle stature, not broken with age; his looks begot reverence rather than fear; his conversation was easy, but serious and grave; he took pleasure sometimes to try the force of those that came as suitors to him upon business, by speaking sharply, though decently to them, and by that he discovered their spirit and presence of mind; with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to an impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temper; and he looked on such persons as the fittest men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the law, and had a vast understanding, and a prodigious memory, and those excellent talents with which nature had furnished him, were improved by study and experience. When I was in England, the king depended much on his councils, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for from his youth up, he had been all along practised in affairs; and having passed through many traverses of fortune, he had acquired to his great cost, a vast stock of wisdom: which is not soon lost, when it is purchased so dear. One day, when I was dining with him, there happened to be at table one of the English lawyers, who took occasion to run out in a high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who, as he said, were then hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; and upon that, he said, he could not wonder enough how it came to pass, that since so few escaped, there were yet

so many thieves left who were still robbing in all places.[24] Upon this, I who took the boldness to speak freely before the cardinal, said there was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this way of punishing thieves was neither just in itself, nor good for the public; for as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual; simple theft not being so great a crime, that it ought to cost a man his life; and no punishment how severe soever, being able to restrain those from robbing who can find out no other way of livelihood; and in this, said I, not only you in England, but a great part of the world imitate some ill masters, that are readier to chastise their scholars, than to teach them.[25] There are dreadful punishments enacted against thieves, but it were much better to make such good provisions, by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing, and of dying for it. 'There has been care enough taken for that,' said he, 'there are many handi-

[24] More had made the discovery that a humane penal code is favourable to the diminution of crime. This does him honour; particularly as it is but now that we are beginning to be convinced of it. Even yet, however, we have much to learn on the same subject; for, perhaps, it may at last be made apparent that over the lives of men we have no right at all, whatever be their offences.

[25] Locke and Montaigne would chime in with this. See the notes to my edition of the former's "Thoughts on Education." Vol. III. of the "Masterpieces." Milton was more stern, and would correct and punish severely where severity appeared to be called for. So would the divine Plato, whose indignation against wickedness was proportioned to his distance from it.

crafts, and there is husbandry, by which they may make a shift to live, unless they have a greater mind to follow ill courses.' 'That will not serve our turn,' said I, 'for many lose their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France, who being thus mutilated in the service of their king and country, can no more follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones: but since wars are only accidental things, and have intervals let us consider those things that fall out every day. There is a great number of noblemen among you, that live not only idle themselves as drones, subsisting by other men's labours, who are their tenants, and whom they pare to the quick, and thereby raise their revenues;[26] this being the only instance of their frugality, for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves: but besides this, they carry about with them a huge number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living: and these, as soon as either their lord dies, or they themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors; for your lords are readier to feed idle people, than

[26] Rack-rents have always been in fashion. The upper and privileged classes maintain their grandeur on oppression, and never care how great the sufferings of the people may be, provided their own incomes are not diminished. What was true in Henry the Eighth's time, is equally so now. Sir Thomas More is not here describing an imaginary state of things, a part of his Utopian scheme, but what he saw daily before his eyes, what he knew to be the fact, what formed part of his personal experience, and urged him to the composition of the present work.

to take care of the sick;[27] and oftener the heir is not able to keep together so great a family as the predecessor did. Now when the stomachs of those that are thus turned out of doors, grow keen, they rob no less keenly; and what else can they do? for, after that, by wandering about, they have worn out both their health and their cloathes, and are tattered, and look ghastly, men of quality will not entertain them, and poor men dare not do it; knowing that one who had been bred up to idleness and pleasure, and who was used to walk about with his sword and buckler,[28] despising all the neighbourhood with an insolent scorn, as far below him, is not fit for the spade and mattock: nor will he serve a poor man for so small a hire, and in so low a diet as he can afford.' To this he answered, 'This sort of men ought to be particularly cherished among us, for in them consists the force of the armies for which we may have occasion; since their birth inspires them with a nobler sense of honour than is to be found among tradesmen or ploughmen.' 'You may as well say,' replied I, 'that

[27] I hope Sir Thomas More's testimony will be taken for this—the more so as the conduct of these lords contrasts so strikingly with that of the middle orders of all times, by whom the poor and sick have been cared for and supported.

[28] An ivory-headed cane now supplies the place of sword and buckler; but the race is unchanged; the houses of the great still supply the country with thieves and highwaymen, and the town with courtezans. In one respect, if Sir Thomas's lawyer was correct, there is a considerable alteration; for our armies, bad as they are, have long been recruited from better materials than gentlemen's servants, who are as unfit to fight as to work. Common thieves labour harder, and make better soldiers.

you must cherish thieves on the account of wars, for you will never want the one, as long as you have the other; and as robbers prove sometimes gallant soldiers, so soldiers prove often brave robbers; so near an alliance there is between those two sorts of life.[29] But this bad custom of keeping many servants, that is so common among you, is not peculiar to this nation. In France there is yet a more pestiferous sort of people, for the whole country is full of soldiers, that are still kept up in time of peace, if such a state of a nation can be called a peace: and these are kept in pay upon the same account that you plead for those idle retainers about noblemen: this being a maxim of those pretended statesmen, that it is necessary for the public safety, to have a good body of veteran soldiers ever in readiness.[30] They think raw men

[29] Towards the close of the republic the Romans exceeded all other nations in the number of their domestics; one evident mark of the decline of manners, and the approaching extinction of freedom. Tatianus, in fact, remarks, that among that pompous people the rich were accustomed παίδων ἀγέλας ὥσπερ ἱππων φορβάδας συναγείρειν; that is, to lead about a crowd of youths at their heels. In the Athenian democracy this was forbidden by law. In modern communities the rage for this species of luxury is very much diminished by considerations of expense; but in Russia, and among our own nobility, a resemblance to the "good old times" is still to a certain extent kept up.

[30] The French have never been thoroughly cured of their rage for "playing soldiers," and never will be till they enjoy the advantages of a free government. Their fine country has always been kept comparatively poor by the folly and wickedness of their kings, whose ambition has known no bounds, though their power has. Louis XIV., kept up a standing army of 440,000

are not to be depended on, and they sometimes seek occasions for making war, that they may train up their soldiers in the art of cutting throats, or as Sallust observed, for keeping their hands in use, that they may not grow dull by too long intermission.[31] But France has learned to its cost, how dangerous it is to feed such beasts. The fate of the Romans, Carthaginians, and Syrians, and many other nations, and cities, which were both overturned, and quite ruined by those standing armies, should make others wiser: and the folly of this maxim of the French appears plainly even from this, that their trained soldiers find that your raw men prove often too hard for them;[32] of which I

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men; and Napoleon, at several periods of his history, had no less, frequently more. But all this waste of life and treasure was of no use to France. The men were taken from the plough, and the resources of the country diminished, simply to gratify the paltry desire of two ignorant persons to be talked of by persons more ignorant still. Cromwell, the wisest and greatest politician of modern times, never kept on foot much above thirty thousand men.

[31] The Romans seldom allowed their soldiers to lose the habit of throat-cutting. Perhaps they felt for the honour of their swords, and would not subject them to the reproach which was cast upon that of Hudibras;

> "The trenchant blade, Toledo trusty,
> For want of fighting had grown rusty,
> And ate into itself, for lack
> Of somebody to hew and hack."

[32] Historians have assigned the true cause for these ancient misfortunes of the French arms: the people were still more oppressed and impoverished than in England, where our sturdy yeomen, if they enjoyed no political freedom, had yet considerable personal liberty, and the means of living well. Had their poverty been equal to that of the French peasantry, and their discipline inferior, the battles of Cressy, Poictiers, and Agin-

will not say much, lest you may think I flatter the English nation. Every day's experience shows, that the mechanics in the towns, or the clowns in the country, are not afraid of fighting with those idle gentlemen, if they are not disabled by some misfortune in their body, or dispirited by extreme want, so that you need not fear, that those well-shaped and strong men, (for it is only such that noblemen love to keep about them, till they spoil them,) who now grow feeble with ease, and are softened with their effeminate manner of life, would be less fit for action if they were well-bred and well employed.[33] And it seems very unreasonable, that for the prospect of war, which you need never have but when you please, you should maintain so many idle men, as will always disturb you in time of peace, which is ever to be more considered than war. But I do not think that this necessity of stealing arises only from hence, there is another

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court, would have terminated differently. Raw troops, other things being equal, must always yield to veterans; and, accordingly, the author's notions are on this point unphilosophical.

[33] On the contrary, of all the modes yet devised for crumbling an army, or the materials of an army to pieces, sloth and idleness are the most effectual. Not to allude to the threadbare topic of Hannibal's troops in the Neapolitan territories, we may refer to the experience of our own generals in Hindoostan, where the men soon become soft and useless from over-indulgence, in conjunction, no doubt, with the enervating effects of climate, which reduced even the hardy Mongols into silken soldiers. The case of the Mantchoo Tatars in China has been exactly similar; and wherever the iron troops of the north have been led into countries where the climate and soil dispose to indolence and inactivity, their vigour has quickly evaporated.

cause of it that is more peculiar to England.' 'What is that?' said the cardinal. 'The increase of pasture,' said I, 'by which your sheep, that are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour men, and unpeople, not only villages, but towns:[34] for wherever it is found, that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good.[35] They stop the course of agriculture, inclose grounds, and destroy houses and towns, reserving only the churches, that they may lodge their sheep in them:[36] and as if forests and parks had swal-

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[34] It is well known that pastoral nations occupy five times the extent of land they would require for their support, were they addicted to agriculture. In Spain, where in the institution called the *Mesta* we have a relic of pastoral manners, traceable probably to the Moors, the feeding of sheep is a principal cause of the neglect of agriculture. The enormous flocks of the *Mesta* are migratory, and move every year some hundreds of miles, literally devastating the country over which they pass.

[35] We had here in England, therefore, something not unlike the *Mesta*, at least in its effects; and the clergy, regular and irregular, were engaged in the good work, as in Spain. This must be one among the many advantages of a Popish priesthood enumerated by Dr. Lingard; but he is quite in error if he imagines the Reformation to have cooled the zeal of this class of men for their own interest. On this point things remain in *statu quo*.

[36] Bayle tells a good story, somewhere in his Dictionary, of an abbot who had converted a church into a stable. It was in France, and set the example, and gave the hint, which was after-

lowed up too little soil, those worthy countrymen turn the best inhabited places into solitudes; for when any unsatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, resolves to inclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners, as well as tenants, are turned out of their possessions by tricks, or by main force, or being wearied out with ill usage, they are forced to sell them.[37] So those miserable people, both men and women, married, unmarried, old and young, with their poor but numerous families, (since country business requires many hands,) are all forced to change their seats, not knowing whither to go; and they must sell for almost nothing, their household-stuff, which could not bring them much money, even though they might stay for a buyer. When that little money is at an end, for it will be soon spent, what is left for them to do, but either to steal and so be hanged, (God knows how justly,) or to go about and beg? And if they do this, they are put in prison as idle vagabonds;[38] whereas they would willingly work, but

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wards followed up by the laymen at the revolution. Our Saviour found the Temple of Jerusalem converted into a market-place and den of thieves, by the Jewish priesthood. The spirit of the clergy has ever been the same.

[37] From this we may perceive how old the arts of thriving on a large scale are. There is nothing new under the sun. Even in wickedness we are deprived of the praise of originality.

[38] What! the Mendicity Society in the reign of Henry VIII? Charles Lamb borrowed his political economy from the Utopia; for he too, like Sir Thomas More, took up the gauntlet for the gaberlunzies, and lamented the prospect of their extinction. I would he had been as long-lived as that race! For I find Plato at work, in the true spirit of the Mendicity Society, for the purpose

can find none that will hire them; for there is no more occasion for country labour, to which they have been bred, when there is no arable ground left. One shepherd can look after a flock, which will stock an extent of ground that would require many hands, if it were to be ploughed and reaped. This likewise raises the price of corn in many places. The price of wool is also risen, that the poor people who were wont to make cloth, are no more able to buy it; and this likewise makes many of them idle: for since the increase of pasture, God has punished the avarice of the owners, by a rot among the sheep, which has destroyed vast numbers of them, but had been more justly laid upon the owners themselves.[39] But suppose the sheep should increase ever so much, their price is not like to fall; since though they cannot be called a monopoly, because they are not engrossed by one person, yet they are in so few hands, and these are so rich, that as they are not pressed to sell them

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of dissolving and bringing to nought the worshipful company of beggars, whom, in his simplicity, he reckons the father of thieves, house-breakers, &c.: but most vain and impotent were his endeavours! The beggars outlived him, saw his school dissolved, and the plough driving merrily over the gardens of the Academy. This ought to have satisfied the gentle heart of Charles Lamb, that no institutions, no laws, no societies, or corporations, can really do anything more than annoy beggars for a short time. Like the Bedouins, they disperse when hard pressed; but again pour forth when least expected, and triumph over everything. And so let it be.

[39] This must be regarded as a slip of the pen; for, judged strictly, it is impious, as calling in question the justice of God, and no impiety could belong to Sir Thomas More.

sooner than they have a mind to it, so they never do till they have raised the price as high as is possible. And on the same account it is, that the other kinds of cattle are so dear, and so much the more, because that many villages being pulled down, and all country-labour being much neglected, there are none that look after the breeding of them. The rich do not breed cattle as they do sheep, but buy them lean, and at low prices; and after they have fattened them on their grounds, they sell them again at high rates. And I do not think that all the inconveniences that this will produce, are yet observed; for as they sell the cattle dear, so if they are consumed faster than the breeding countries from which they are brought, can afford them, then the stock must decrease, and this must needs end in a great scarcity; and by these means this your island, that seemed, as to this particular, the happiest in the world, will suffer much by the cursed avarice of a few persons; besides that, the raising of corn makes all people lessen their families as much as they can; and what can those who are dismissed by them do, but either beg or rob? And to this last, a man of a great mind is much sooner drawn than to the former. Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you, to set forward your poverty and misery; there is an excessive vanity in apparel and great cost in diet;[40] and

[40] The author of the "Fable of the Bees," and David Hume, undertake the defence of luxury; and their reasoning has certainly the merit of being very ingenious; and what is more, well suited to the spirit of their age, when in a great measure reli-

that not only in noblemen's families, but even among tradesmen, and among the farmers themselves, and among all ranks of persons. You have also many infamous houses,[41] and besides those

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gion had lost its influence, and morals were inconceivably corrupt. A change for the better has since been effected. Few men, at least in England, would now venture, whatever they may think, to maintain the profligate doctrines of Mandeville or Hume; the former of whom contended that private vices are public benefits, while the latter considered adultery a more venial offence than drunkenness. *Essays*, p. 159, 4to. *edition*. Agreeably to this view of the vices he misrepresents the anecdote of Cato and Cæsar on the subject of Servilia's intrigues. "We know," says he, "that Cæsar, during Cataline's conspiracy, being necessitated to put into Cato's hands a *billet-doux*, which discovered an intrigue with Servilia, Cato's own sister, that stern philosopher threw it back to him with indignation; and, in the bitterness of his wrath, gave him the appellation of drunkard, as a term more opprobrious than that with which he could more justly have reproached him." This forced interpretation does not exhibit any of Hume's usual subtlety and discrimination. Cato was ashamed of his sister's profligacy, and used the term sot instead of *adulterer*, (for both Cæsar and Servilia were married,) as less likely to excite the suspicions of the senate, who had beheld him receive and return the note, no doubt with much chagrin visible in his countenance.

[41] Milton, Areopagitica, § 32, p. 208 f. points at these haunts of debauchery as more worthy the animadversion of government, than the printing of dangerous books. "What shall be done," says he, "to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses *where drunkenness is sold and harboured?*" It must at the same time be confessed, that he judged the political notions of Sir Thomas More, Plato, and Lord Bacon, even in points of this kind, altogether visionary and impracticable. "To sequester out of the world into *Atlantic* and *Utopian* polities, which *never can be drawn into use*, will not mend our condition." § 33. The only practicable remedy, in his opinion, is education, which may of course be seconded by the active inter-

that are known, the taverns and ale-houses are no better; add to these dice, cards, tables, foot-ball, tennis, and quoits, in which money runs fast away; and those that are initiated into them, must in conclusion betake themselves to robbing for a supply. Banish those plagues, and give order that these who have dispeopled so much soil, may either rebuild the villages that they have pulled down, or let out their grounds to such as will do it; restrain those engrossings of the rich that are as bad almost as monopolies; leave fewer occasions to idleness; let agriculture be set up again, and the manufacture of the wool be regulated, that so there may be work found for these companies of idle people, whom want forces to be thieves, or who now being idle vagabonds, or useless servants, will certainly grow thieves at last. If you do not find a remedy to these evils, it is a vain thing to boast of your severity of punishing theft; which though it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself it is neither just nor convenient: for if you suffer your people to be ill educated,[42] and their manners to

ference of the legislature. Sir Walter Scott describes our theatres, and describes them truly, as haunts of barefaced and incorrigible vice; (*Life by Lockhart*, vol. iv.) and in all ages taverns and bagnios have been synonymous terms.—*Casaubon. ad Theophrast. Charact.* p. 365.

[42] Locke, who of all philosophers was probably the least likely to be carried away by his imagination, attributes no less influence to the education of youth. "The difference to be found in the *manners* and *abilities* of man, is owing more to their education than to anything else." *Thoughts on Education*, § 32, p. 44. This idea adopted by Helvétius, forms the basis of his treatise "de l'Homme," in which he undertakes to demonstrate "que

be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves, and then punish them?'

"While I was talking thus, the counsellor that was present had prepared an answer, and had resolved to resume all I had said, according to the formality of a debate, in which things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are answered; as if the chief trial that were to be made, were of men's memories. So he said to me, 'You have talked prettily for a stranger, having heard of many things among us, which you have not been able to consider well; but I will make the whole matter plain to you, and will first repeat in order all that you have said, then I will show how much the ignorance of our affairs have misled you, and will, in the last place, answer all your arguments. And that I may begin where I promised, there were four

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l'homme n'est vraiment que le produit de son education."—*Œuvres, &c.* vii. 5. Milton was scarcely less sanguine in his opinions of education, but his lofty original mind had formed to itself a very peculiar idea of that system of training which merits such an appellation, "*The end of learning*," he says, "*is to repair the ruins of our first parents*, by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection." *Select Prose Works*, vol. I. p. 144. Plato, long before, had conceived a similar idea of what education should be, though, on some points, his ideas were necessarily more imperfect than Milton's. *Republic.* t. vi. p. 334—346. *Edit. Bekk.*

things'—'Hold your peace,' said the cardinal, 'for you will not have done soon that begin thus; therefore we will at present ease you of the trouble of answering, and reserve it to our next meeting, which shall be to-morrow, if Raphael's affairs and yours can admit of it. But, Raphael,' said he to me, 'I would gladly know of you upon what reason it is that you think theft ought not to be punished by death?[43] Would you give way to it? or do you propose any other punishment that will be more useful to the public? For since death does not restrain theft, if men thought their lives would be safe, what fear or force could restrain ill men? On the contrary, they would look on the mitigation of the punishment as an invitation to commit more crimes.' I answered, 'It seems to me a very unjust thing to take away a man's life for a little money; for nothing in the world can be of equal value with a man's life:[44] and if it is said, that it

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[43] On this subject the more humane and philosophical part of the world *begin* to adopt Sir Thomas More's opinion. It seems probable, moreover, that even in our own days we shall in part see them acted upon.

[44] The author of the "Utopia" was free, if ever any man was, from the influence of the debasing doctrine of *castes*, which, though openly maintained in the East only, is everywhere the genuine creed where hereditary distinctions of rank prevail. His humane and generous sentiments break forth on all occasions. He does not undervalue property, or counsel others to make light of it; but he refuses to consider any creation of man of equal value with the noblest of God's creations. He knew that taking away life for anything *but murder* is in itself *murder*, and that every one concerned in such an act will be judged as a murderer hereafter.

is not for the money that one suffers, but for his breaking the law, I must say, extreme justice is an extreme injury: for we ought not to approve of these terrible laws that make the smallest offences capital; nor of that opinion of the Stoics that make all crimes equal, as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a man, and the taking his purse; between which, if we examine things impartially, there is no likeness nor proportion. God has commanded us not to kill, and shall we kill so easily for a little money? But if one shall say, that by that law we are only forbid to kill any, except when the laws of the land allow of it; upon the same grounds, laws may be made to allow of adultery and perjury in some cases: for God having taken from us the right of disposing, either of our own, or of other people's lives, if it is pretended that the mutual consent of men in making laws, allowing of manslaughter in cases in which God has given us no example, frees people from the obligation of the divine law, and so makes murder a lawful action; what is this, but to give a preference to human laws before the Divine?[45] And, if this is once admitted, by the same rule men may in all other things put what restrictions they please upon the laws of God. If by the Mosaical law, though it was rough and severe, as being a yoke laid on an obstinate and servile nation, men were only fined, and not put to death for theft; we cannot imagine

[45] This confirms what is advanced in the preceding note.

that in this new law of mercy, in which God treats us with the tenderness of a father, he has given us a greater licence to cruelty, than he did to the Jews. Upon these reasons it is, that I think the putting thieves to death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is absurd, and of ill consequence to the commonwealth, that a thief and a murderer should be equally punished: for if a robber sees that his danger is the same, if he is convicted of theft, as if he were guilty of murder, this will naturally set him on to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed; since, if the punishment is the same, there is more security, and less danger of discovery, when he that can best make it is put out of the way; so that the terrifying thieves too much, provokes them to cruelty.[46]

"'But as to the question, what more convenient way of punishment can be found? I think it is much easier to find out that than to invent anything that is worse. Why should we doubt but the way that was so long in use among the old Romans, who understood so well the arts of government, was very proper for their punishment? They condemned such as they found guilty of great crimes to work their whole lives in quarries, or to

[46] Our contemporaries are at length coming over to Sir Thomas's opinion, and since the laws have been framed in a great measure upon this conviction, robberies have been comparatively seldom accompanied by murder. Greater mildness in punishment will necessarily produce corresponding mildness in crime.

dig in mines with chains about them.[47] But the method that I liked best was that which I observed in my travels in Persia, among the Polylerites, who are a considerable and well-governed people.[48] They pay a yearly tribute to the king of Persia; but in all other respects they are a free nation, and governed by their own laws. They lie far from the sea, and are environed with hills; and being contented with the productions of their own country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with any other nations; and as they, according to the genius of their country, have no appetite of enlarging their borders; so their mountains, and the pension that they pay to the Persian, secure them from all invasions. Thus they have no wars among them; they live rather conveniently than splendidly, and may be rather

[47] I would not propose the laws of any ancient state as a pattern to be followed by modern nations. They were all, without exception, too cruel; but those of Athens undoubtedly the least so. Even according to these, however, a house-breaker caught *by night* in the fact might be slain; and Plato, to show that he approved of the principle, made the law binding in his imaginary state. "He who kills a house-breaker, caught by night in the fact, shall be free from all guilt." *De Legg.* l. ix. p. 874, C. But the *reason* of this is clearly explained by Grotius, who observes that, not being sure that the thief does not likewise meditate murder, we may kill him in our own defence. *Conf. De Jure Bell. et Pac.* l. II. c. i. §. 12. with the notes of Gronovius and Barbeyrac. Lipsius, Civil. Doct. l. II. c. xiii. shows the wisdom of mild laws, which the best and wisest men of all ages have preferred before harshness and severity.

[48] This is an imaginary people, created for the *nonce*. Sir Thomas More was never at a loss for excellent examples; for, if he found them not, he could make them.

called a happy nation, than either eminent or famous; for I do not think that they are known so much as by name to any but their next neighbours. Those that are found guilty of theft among them are bound to make restitution to the owner, and not as it is in other places, to the prince, for they reckon that the prince has no more right to the stolen goods than the thief;[49] but if that which was stolen is no more in being, then the goods of the thieves are estimated, and, restitution being made out of them, the remainder is given to their wives and children; and they themselves are condemned to serve in the public works, but are neither imprisoned nor chained, unless there happened to be some extraordinary circumstances in their crimes. They go about loose and free, working for the public: if they are idle or backward to work, they are whipped; but if they work hard they are well used, and treated without any mark of reproach, only the lists of them are called always at night, and then they are shut up, and they suffer no other uneasiness but this of constant labour; for as they work for the public, so they are well-entertained out of the public stock, which is

[49] No, but princes are apt to consider that if their subjects *will be* vicious, the profits of their vices ought to accrue to *them*. And it is to be feared that not unfrequently all such vices as improve the revenue are well thought of at court. It is but lately that we have discovered the immorality of *lotteries*, which have still a patron in Parliament, though denounced by the government as the very worst source from which money can be derived.

done differently in different places.[50] In some places that which is bestowed on them is raised by a charitable contribution; and, though this way may seem uncertain, yet so merciful are the inclinations of this people, that they are plentifully supplied by it; but in other places public revenues are set aside for them; or there is a constant tax of a poll-money raised for their maintenance. In some places they are set to no public work, but every private man that has occasion to hire workmen goes to the market-places, and hires them of the public, a little lower than he would do a free man:[51] if they go lazily about their task, he may quicken them with the whip. By this means there is always some piece of work or other to be done by them; and, besides their livelihood, they earn somewhat still to the public. They wear all a peculiar habit, of one certain colour,[52] and their

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[59] Thieves, and, in short, criminals of all kinds, labour for the public in Tuscany, where capital punishment is wholly abolished. The sound of their chains clanking on the pavement is generally heard about breakfast-time, particularly at Leghorn, and probably helps to promote some people's digestion. It used to spoil mine.

[51] This is the principle acted upon in our penal settlements, where convict labour is a source of great profit to the colonists, many of whom would remain at home were there not a good crop of thieves to work for them cheap; and, therefore, if private vices are not public benefits, it cannot be said that they are profitable to no one.

[52] The Grand Duke of Tuscany has adopted this hint. All his convicted criminals wear livery: they who have hope, *red;* the hopeless—the slaves for life—are clad in *yellow*. What effect this badge may produce on their own minds is more than I

hair is cropped a little above their ears, and a little of one of their ears is cropped off. Their friends are allowed to give them either meat, drink, or clothes, so they are of their proper colour; but it is death, both to the giver and taker, if they give them money; nor is it less penal for any free man to take money from them, upon any account whatsoever: and it is also death for any of these slaves (so they are called) to handle arms. Those of every division of the country are distinguished by a peculiar mark,—and it is capital to lay that aside: and so it is also to go out of their bounds, or to talk with a slave of another jurisdiction;[53] and the very attempt of an escape is no less penal than an escape itself; it is death for any other slave to be accessory to it. If a free man engages in it he is condemned to slavery: those that discover it are rewarded,—if free men, in money; and if slaves, with liberty, together with a pardon for being accessory to it; that so they may find their account rather in repenting of their accession to such a design than in persisting in it.

"'These are their laws and rules in this matter; in which both the gentleness and advantages of

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can say; on *me*, who only saw them, the sight made a deep impression of melancholy, which has recurred ever and anon for years. It is, doubtless, more likely to deter from crime than the shock of an execution,—terrible while it lasts, but soon over, and soon forgotten.

[53] After guarding against the spirit of cruelty in the first steps, it breaks out here. Sir Thomas had been studying Lycurgus's code, and caught something of its spirit.

them are very obvious: since, by these means, as vices are destroyed, so men are preserved, but are so treated that they see the necessity of being good; and by the rest of their life they make reparation for the mischief they had formerly done. Nor is there any hazard of their falling back to their old customs. And so little do travellers apprehend mischief from them that they generally make use of them for guides,[54] from one jurisdiction to another; for there is nothing left them by which they can rob, or be the better for it, since, as they are disarmed, so the very having of money is a sufficient conviction; and, as they are certainly punished if discovered, so they cannot hope to escape: for their habit being in all the parts of it different from what is commonly worn, they cannot fly away, unless they should go naked, and even then their cropped ear would betray them. The only danger to be feared from them is their conspiring against the government: but those of one division or neighbourhood can do nothing to any purpose, unless a general conspiracy were laid amongst all the slaves of the several jurisdictions, which cannot be done, since they cannot meet or talk together;

[54] This is true of a tribe of thieves in Hindoostan, who always prove faithful to such as hire and pay them; whereas your European thieves generally practise most on those in whose service they happen to be engaged. Sir Thomas's convicts were under tolerably good discipline, and had little chance of effecting their escape, on account of the misfortune which had befallen their ears; but, by the same regulation, they were completely cut off also from all chance of regaining *caste;* for, as their ears would not grow, they could never again pass for persons of good character.

nor will any venture on a design where the concealment would be so dangerous, and the discovery so profitable: and none of them is quite hopeless of recovering his freedom, since by their obedience and patience, and by giving grounds to believe that they will change their manner of life for the future, they may expect at last to obtain their liberty: and some are every year restored to it, upon the good character that is given of them.'

"'When I had related all this, I added, that I did not see why such a method might not be followed with more advantage than could ever be expected from that severe justice which the counsellor magnified so much. To all this he answered, that it could never be so settled in England, without endangering the whole nation by it; and as he said that, he shook his head, and made some grimaces, and so held his peace; and all the company seemed to be of his mind: only the cardinal said, 'It is not easy to guess whether it would succeed well or ill, since no trial has been made of it:[55] but if, when the sentence of death were passed

[55] The cardinal was right; but men of weak understanding imagine all sorts of dangers in the mere attempt to improve a nation's laws. And some who even set up for philosophers, and consider themselves above prejudice, are among the foremost to exclaim against improvement, which they denominate innovation. But time, as Bacon observes, is the great innovator. He gradually undermines and upsets everything, but excites no alarm, *because* he effects what he brings to pass *gradually*. All friends of mankind will imitate *Time*—carry much when they can, and little when no more is to be gained; but always keep progressing; for, like fruit, the institutions of one age grow stale and useless by the next.

upon a thief, the prince would reprieve him for a while, and make the experiment upon him, denying him the privilege of a sanctuary; then, if it had a good effect upon him, it might take place; and, if it succeeded not, the worst would be to execute the sentence on the condemned person at last. And I do not see,' said he, 'why it would be either unjust or inconvenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of such a delay; and I think the vagabonds ought to be treated in the same manner against whom, though we have made many laws, yet we have not been able to gain our end by them all.' When the cardinal had said this, then they all fell to commend the motion, though they had despised it when it came from me;[56] but they did more particularly commend that concerning the vagabonds, because it had been added by him.

"I do not know whether it be worth the while to tell what followed, for it was very ridiculous; but I shall venture at it, for, as it is not

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[56] Of course. "The wise poor man crieth aloud, and no man regardeth." In fact it is the received opinion among certain classes, that no poor man can be wise. If he were, they think he would make money. Mr. Caunter's St. Leon is their wise man: a person who has discovered the philosopher's stone, and along with it all the means of being extremely happy—except the art of enjoying what he has. There is a fine philosophy in these lines:—

> "These are but sorry first-fruits of our wealth!
> If only such shall be matured and plucked,
> Would that grim want again, in sackcloth cased,
> Did cramp our bones! Look how thy tawdry gold
> Begins to mock thee! Thou'rt already cursed
> In thy possession. Out upon this dross,
> That only casts a splendour over ruin!
> THY LIFE'S IN JEOPARDY!"

foreign to this matter, so some good use may be made of it. There was a jester standing by, that counterfeited the fool so naturally that he seemed to be really one. The jests at which he offered were so cold and dull that we laughed more at him than at them; yet sometimes he said, as it were by chance, things that were not unpleasant; so as to justify the old proverb, 'That he who throws the dice often will sometimes have a lucky hit.' When one of the company had said that I had taken care of the thieves, and the cardinal had taken care of the vagabonds; so that there remained nothing but that some public provision might be made for the poor whom sickness or old age had disabled from labour; 'Leave that to me,' said the fool, 'and I shall take care of them; for there is no sort of people whose sight I abhor more, having been so often vexed with them and with their sad complaints; but, as dolefully soever as they have told their tale to me, they could never prevail so far as to draw one penny of money from me: for either I had no mind to give them anything, or, when I had a mind to it, I had nothing to give them: and they now know me so well, that they will not lose their labour on me, but let me pass without giving me any trouble, because they hope for nothing from me,—no more, in faith, than if I were a priest.[57] But I would have a law made

[57] I recommend this passage to the serious consideration of Dr. Lingard, who seems to imagine that all things have deteriorated since the Reformation. He will see that the clergy, at

for sending all these beggars to monasteries,—the men to the Benedictines to be lay-brothers, and the women to be nuns.' The cardinal smiled, and approved of it in jest; but the rest liked it in earnest.

"There was a divine present who, though he was a grave, morose man, yet he was so pleased with the reflection that was made on the priests and the monks, that he began to play with the fool, and said to him, 'this will not deliver you from all beggars, except you take care of us friars.' 'That is done already,' answered the fool; 'for the cardinal has provided for you by what he proposed for the restraining vagabonds, and setting them to work; for I know no vagabonds like you!'[58] This was well entertained by the whole company, who, looking at the cardinal, perceived that he was not ill-pleased at it; only the friar himself was so bit, as may be easily imagined, and fell out in such a passion that he could not forbear railing at the fool, and calling him knave, slanderer, backbiter, and son of perdition, and cited some dreadful threatenings out of the scriptures against him.[59]

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least, have not. They remain just as they were when Cardinal Morton's fool had the painting of them.

[58] No doubt the fool's experience had furnished him with nothing in the matter of vagabondage equal to the friars. On this point they clearly outdo the priests themselves, who are generally less given to roaming; though one meets a tolerable sprinkling of them too, wherever there is sin or pleasure to be found, from the fox's tail to the Parisian *salon*.

[59] If the reader will have the goodness to refer to Sterne's chapter of curses in "Tristram Shandy," he will see with what originality scholars can swear. Our friar was still more inge-

Now the jester thought he was in his element, and laid about him freely. He said, 'Good friar, be not angry! for it is written, "In patience possess your soul."' The friar answered, (for I shall give you his own words,) 'I am not angry, you hangman! at least I do not sin in it; for the Psalmist says, "Be ye angry and sin not."' Upon this the cardinal admonished him gently, and wished him to govern his passions. 'No, my lord!' said he, 'I speak not but from a good zeal, which I ought to have; for holy men have had a good zeal, as it is said, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up;" and we sing in our church that those who mocked Elisha as he went up to the house of God felt the effects of his zeal;—which that mocker, that rogue, that scoundrel will perhaps feel!'[60] 'You do this, perhaps,

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nious; for he selected his maledictory language out of Scripture, only taking care, of course, to twist it to suit his own purposes; which is a quite orthodox practice.

[60] This is a stroke quite *à la Rabelais;* and might very well have proceeded from "Friar John" when excited to wrath in his cups. It would seem that the spirit of the Reformation had, *at this time*, some influence over the mind of More, whether its doctrines ever made any impression on him or not; for no Roman Catholic, with a Roman Catholic's *feelings*, could thus hold up to contempt and ridicule one of the Pope's principal instruments. Boccaccio never enjoyed more heartily a philippic against the clergy or the monks than did Sir Thomas More, who yet formed, in the opinion of Swift, one of that sextumvirate to which all the ages of the world cannot add a *seventh*. And what were those six illustrious names? Were they kings, or prelates—or monks, or friars—or doctors of divinity?—Oh, no! Sir Thomas More was the only Christian among them. They were Junius, and Marcus Brutus, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato of Utica, and More. *I* could name a *seventh*,—great and

with a good intention,' said the cardinal; 'but, in my opinion, it were wiser in you, not to say better for you, not to engage in so ridiculous a contest with a fool.' 'No, my lord!' answered he, 'that were not wisely done; for Solomon, the wisest of men, said, "answer a fool according to his folly;" which I now do, and show him the ditch into which he will fall, if he is not aware of it: for, if the many mockers of Elisha, who was but one bald man, felt the effect of his zeal, what will become of one mocker of so many friars, among whom there are so many bald men? We have likewise a bull, by which all that jeer us are excommunicated.'[61] When the cardinal saw that there was no end of this matter, he made a sign to the fool to withdraw, and turned the discourse another way. And, soon after, he rose from the table, and, dismissing us, he went to hear causes.

"Thus, Mr. More, I have run out into a tedious story, of the length of which I had been ashamed, if, as you earnestly begged it of me, I had not ob-

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illustrious as any of the six, save one: our countryman, too, covered with glory, and to be covered with still greater, as the "Defence of the People of England" comes more actively forward, to take its place beside the "Paradise Lost." MILTON is that seventh name; a name which even Socrates need not frown to see placed on a level with his own. But see "Gulliver's Travels," Part III. c. vii.

[61] I trust the reader will acknowledge the dramatic truth to nature of this whole scene. It was not Sir Thomas's design to write a novel; but he felt exceedingly disposed to verge in that direction; and I wish, as things go, that he had indulged his vein.

served you to hearken to it, as if you had no mind to lose any part of it: I might have contracted it, but I resolved to give it you at large, that you might observe how those that had despised what I had proposed no sooner perceived that the cardinal did not dislike it, but they presently approved of it, and fawned so on him, and flattered him to such a degree, that they in good earnest applauded those things that he only liked in jest. And from hence you may gather how little courtiers would value either me or my counsels."[62]

To this I answered, "you have done me a great kindness in this relation: for as everything has been related by you, both wisely and pleasantly, so you have made me imagine that I was in my own country, and grown young again, by recalling that good cardinal into my thoughts in whose family I was bred from my childhood: and, though you are upon other accounts very dear to me, yet you are the dearer because you honour his memory so much. But, after all this, I cannot change my opinion; for I still think that, if you could over-

[62] The writer never loses sight of the courtiers, whom no author of eminence, in any age or country, has spared. Our fashionable novelists, indeed, appear to have undertaken their defence, by way of exhibiting their ingenuity, and in the hope that some one will say of them what Milton says of Belial, that their

> —— "tongue
> Dropped manna, and could make the worse appear
> The better reason."

They are, no doubt, mighty antagonists; and More, Clarendon, Warburton, Milton, Bacon, Hobbes, and so on, will have much ado to maintain their ground. But *jacta est alea*.

come that aversion which you have to the courts of princes, you might do a great deal of good to mankind, by the advice that you would give. And this is the chief design that every good man ought to propose to himself in living: for, whereas your friend Plato thinks that then nations will be happy when either philosophers become kings, or kings become philosophers,[63] no wonder if we are so far from that happiness, if philosophers will not think it fit for them to assist kings with their counsels."

"They are not so base-minded," said he, "but that they would willingly do it. Many of them have already done it by their books, if these that are in power would hearken to their advices. But Plato judged right that, except kings themselves became philosophers, it could never be brought about that they who from their childhood are corrupted with false notions thould fall in entirely with the councils of philosophers,—which he himself found to be true in the person of Dionysius.[64]

"Do not you think that if I were about any king, and were proposing good laws to him, and endeavouring to root out of him all the cursed seeds of evil that I found in him, I should either be turned out of his court, or, at least, be laughed at for my

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[63] See his treatise *De Rep.* V. §. 18. t. I. p. 389. VI. §. 18. t. II. p. 56. *Edit. Stallbaum*, where the learned editor quotes the defence of this celebrated paradox by Morgernstern. *De Rep. Plat.* 203—213. And a criticism on it by Muretus, *Opp.* t. I. p. 66. *edit. Runkh.*

[64] Who, because the philosopher desired to relieve him of his ignorance, sold him for a slave! *Diog. Laert.* III. §. 14. p. 74. *edit. Ménage.*

pains?[65] For instance, what could I signify if I were about the king of France, and were called into his cabinet-council, where several wise men do, in his hearing, propose many expedients; as, by what arts and practices Milan may be kept; and Naples, that has so oft slipped out of their hands, recovered; and how the Venetians, and, after them, the rest of Italy may be subdued; and then, how Flanders, Brabant, and all Burgundy, and some other kingdoms, which he has swallowed already in his designs, might be added to his empire. One proposes a league with the Venetians, to be kept as long as he finds his account in it, and that he ought to communicate councils with them, and give them some share of the spoil, till his success makes him need or fear them less, and then it will be easily taken out of their hands. Another proposes the hiring the Germans, and the securing the Switzers by pensions. Another proposes the gaining the Emperor by money, which is omnipotent with him.[66] Another proposes a peace with the king of Arragon, and, in order to the cementing it, the yielding up the king of Navarre's pretensions. Another thinks the prince of Castile is to be wrought on by the hope of an alliance; and that

[65] Clarendon lived to be of this opinion, and bequeathed it as an inheritance to his sons. See the preface to his History, *passim*.

[66] Honest Iago understood this well: "put money in thy purse!" It is everywhere omnipotent, save against virtue, which resists because it does not need it. The good man is never a worshipper of gold. He will use, but not be held captive by money; though *for money* he sometimes may

some of his courtiers are to be gained to the French faction by pensions. The hardest point of all is what to do with England. A treaty of peace is to be set on foot; and, if their alliance is not be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as can be; and they are to be called friends, but suspected as enemies: therefore the Scots are to be kept in readiness, to be let loose upon England on every occasion; and some banished nobleman is to be supported underhand, (for by the league it cannot be done avowedly,) who has a pretension to the crown, by which means that suspected prince may be kept in awe.[67]

"Now, when things are in so great a fermentation, and so many gallant men are joining councils how to carry on the war, if so mean a man as I am should stand up, and wish them to change all their councils,—to let Italy alone, and stay at home, since the kingdom of France was indeed greater than that it could be well governed by one man, so that he ought not to think of adding others to it: and if, after this, I should propose to them the resolution of the Achorians, a people that lie over against the isle of Utopia to the south-east, who, having long ago engaged in a war, that they might gain another kingdom to their king, who had a pretension to it by an old alliance by which it had descended to him; and having conquered it, when they found that the trouble of

[67] We have lived to see a better state of things. No fear now of the Scots pouring in upon England; nor is there any banished nobleman, with a pretence to the crown, who can cause us a moment's uneasiness.

keeping it was equal to that of gaining it; for the conquered people would be still apt to rebel, or be exposed to foreign invasions, so that they must always be in war, either for them or against them; and that, therefore, they could never disband their army: that in the mean time taxes lay heavy on them, that money went out of the kingdom, that their blood was sacrificed to their king's glory, and that they were nothing the better by it, even in time of peace; their manners being corrupted by a long war, robbing and murders abounding everywhere; and their laws falling under contempt, because their king, being distracted with the cares of the kingdom, was less able to apply his mind to any one of them; when they saw there could be no end of those evils, they, by joint councils, made an humble address to their king, desiring him to choose which of the two kingdoms he had the greatest mind to keep,—since he could not hold both;[68] for they were too great a people to be governed by a divided king, since no man would willingly have a groom that should be in common between him and another,—upon which the good prince was

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[68] Sir Thomas More, we see, was no patron of legitimacy or Divine right. He puts things on their proper footing, considering the prince as a magistrate appointed for the people's advantage,—not for his own; and removable when, from any cause whatever, he becomes incapable of performing his duties as the laws require. Such were the opinions of Buchanan, of Milton, and of Locke; and they were recognized by the British constitution when James II. was driven ignominiously from the throne of these realms.

forced to quit his new kingdom to one of his friends, (who was not long after dethroned,) and to be contented with his old one. To all this I would add, that after all those warlike attempts, and the vast confusions, with the consumptions both of treasure and of people that must follow them, perhaps, upon some misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at last. Therefore it seemed much more eligible that the king should improve his ancient kingdom all he could, and make it flourish as much as was possible; that he should love his people, and be beloved of them; that he should live among them, and govern them gently; and that he should let other kingdoms alone, since that which had fallen to his share was big enough,—if not too big for him. Pray, how do you think would such a speech as this be heard?" "I confess," said I, "I think not very well."

"But what," said he, "if I should sort with another kind of ministers, whose chief contrivances and consultations were, by what art treasure might be heaped up? Where one proposes the crying up of money, when the king had a great debt on him, and the crying it down as much when his revenues were to come in; that so he might both pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal. Another proposes a pretence of a war, that so money may be raised in order to the carrying it on, and that a peace might be concluded as soon as that was done; and this was to be made up with such appearances of religion as might work on the people, and make them impute it to

the piety of their prince,[69] and to his tenderness of the lives of his subjects. A third offers some old musty laws, that have been antiquated by a long disuse; and which, as they had been forgotten by all the subjects, so they had been also broken by them: and that the levying of the penalties of these laws, as it would bring in a vast treasure, so there might be a very good pretence for it, since it would look like the executing of law, and the doing of justice. A fourth proposes the prohibiting of many things under severe penalties, especially such things as were against the interest of the people, and then the dispensing with these prohibitions upon great compositions, to those who might make advantages by breaking them. This would serve two ends, both of them acceptable to many; for as those whose avarice led them to transgress, would be severely fined; so the selling licenses dear, would look as if a prince were tender of his people, and would not easily, or at low rates, dispense with any thing that might be against the public good.[70] Another proposes, that the

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[69] This is worthy of Macchiavelli, and as instructive as a chapter in "Il Principe." It paints monarchs to the life.

[70] We have here another Macchiavellian remark, which shows how carefully Sir Thomas More had read history. Raleigh had much the same opinion of princes. In that fine poem, said to have been written the night before his execution, but which bears the marks of very careful study and correction, he says:—

"Tell Potentates they live,
Acting by others' actions;
Not loved—unless they give;
Not strong—but by their factions:
If Potentates reply,
Give Potentates the lie."

judges must be made sure, that they may declare always in favour of the prerogative; that they must be often sent for to court, that the king may hear them argue those points in which he is concerned; since that how unjust soever any of his pretensions may be, yet still some one or other of them, either out of contradiction to others, or the pride of singularity, or that they may make their court, would find out some pretence or other to give the king a fair colour to carry the point:[71] for if the judges but differ in opinion, the clearest thing in the world is made by that means disputable, and truth being once brought in question, the king upon that may take advantage to expound the law for his own profit. The judges that stand out will be brought over, either out of fear or modesty; and they being thus gained, all of them may be sent to the bench to give sentence boldly, as the king would have it: for fair pretences will never be

[71] History bears out the author here. The judges under Charles the First, in the action against Hampden in the matter of ship-money, exhibited this base compliance with the wishes of the prince, which, according to Clarendon, was the first cause of the civil wars. "For when they heard this demanded in a court of law, as a right, and found it, by sworn judges of the law, adjudged so, upon such grounds and reasons as every stander-by was able to swear was not law, and so had lost the *pleasure* and *delight* (and marvellous they must be!) of being kind and *dutiful* to the king; and instead of giving, were required to pay, and by a logic that left no man anything which he might call his own; they no more looked upon it as the case of one man, but the case of the kingdom, nor as an imposition laid upon them by the king, but by the judges; which they thought themselves bound in conscience to the public justice not to submit to." *History, &c.* i. 122 f.

wanting when sentence is to be given in the prince's favour: it will either be said, that equity lies on his side, or some words in the law will be found sounding that way, or some forced sense will be put on them; and when all other things fail, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all law;[72] and to which a religious judge ought to have a special regard. Thus all consent to that maxim of Crassus, that a prince cannot have treasure enough, since he must maintain his armies out of it: that a king, even though he would, can do nothing unjustly: that all property is in him, not excepting the very persons of his subjects: and that no man has any other property, but that which the king out of his goodness thinks fit to leave him: and they think it is the prince's interest, that there be as little of this left as may be, as if it were his advantage that the people should have neither riches nor liberty; since these things make them less easy and tame to a cruel and unjust government; whereas necessity and poverty blunts them, makes them patient, and bears them down, and breaks their height of spirit, that might otherwise dispose them to rebel.[73]

"Now, what if after all these propositions were

[72] Speaking of certain acts of Charles the First, perpetrated in this spirit, Bishop Warburton says, "If this was not *tyranny*, I do not know what is." *Notes on Clarendon*, vii. 512.

[73] This is enumerated by Aristotle among the maxims of tyranny. In despotic governments, and such as aim at becoming despotic, the people are bowed to the earth by the weight of taxation; while the rulers, perhaps, expend the money collected in sumptuous edifices, or other toys, calculated to amuse the

made, I should rise up and assert, that such councils were both unbecoming a king, and mischievous to him; and that not only his honour, but his safety consisted more in his people's wealth, than in his own; —if I should show, that they choose a king for their own sake, and not for his;[74] that by his care and endeavours they may be both easy and safe; and that therefore a prince ought to take more care of his people's happiness, than of his own, as a shepherd is to take more care of his flock than of himself. It is also certain, that they are much mistaken, that think the poverty of a nation is a means of the public safety. Who quarrel more than beggars do? Who does more earnestly long for a change, than he that is uneasy in his present circumstances?[75] And who run in to create confusions with so desperate a boldness, as those who having nothing to lose, hope to gain by them? If a king should fall under so much contempt or envy, that he could not keep his subjects in their duty, but by oppression and ill-usage, and by impoverishing them, it were certainly better for him to quit his kingdom, than to retain it by such methods, by which though he keeps the name of authority, yet he loses the majesty due to it. Nor

vulgar. With this view the pyramids of Egypt were erected; the vast amphitheatres of Rome; the triumphal arches, columns, &c. of Napoleon. *Arist. Pol.* V. viii. p. 136. *Gœttling*, V. xi. 156. *Bekk.*

[74] James the First, fool and tyrant as he was, acknowledged this. *Locke on Government*, II. § 200.

[75] The French Revolution has furnished the best commentary on this text.

is it so becoming the dignity of a king to reign over beggars, as to reign over rich and happy subjects. And therefore Fabricius, that was a man of a noble and exalted temper, said, he would rather govern rich men, than be rich himself; and for one man to abound in wealth and pleasure, when all about him are mourning and groaning, is to be a jailor and not a king.[76] He is an unskilful physician, that cannot cure a disease, but by casting his patient into another; so he that can find no other way for correcting the errors of his people, but by taking from them the conveniences of life, shows that he knows not what it is to govern a free nation. He himself ought rather to shake off his sloth, or to lay down his pride; for the contempt or hatred that his people have for him, takes its rise from the vices in himself.[77] Let him live upon what belongs to himself, without wronging others, and accommodate his expense to his revenue. Let him punish crimes, and by his wise conduct let him endeavour to prevent them, rather than be severe when he has suffered them to be too common. Let him not rashly revive laws that are abrogated by disuse, especially if they have been long forgotten, and never wanted. And let him never take any penalty for the breach of them, to which a judge would not give way in a private man, but would look on him as a crafty and unjust person for pretending to it.

[76] But princes and oligarchs are commonly deaf to all such sounds.

[77] It may, in fact, be laid down as a truth clear as any in Euclid, that no king was ever hated but who richly deserved it.

"To these things I would add that law among the Macarians, that lie not far from Utopia, by which their king, in the way on which he begins to reign, is tied by an oath confirmed by solemn sacrifices, never to have at once above a thousand pounds of gold in his treasures, or so much silver as is equal to that in value.[78] This law, as they say, was made by an excellent king, who had more regard to the riches of his country, than to his own wealth; and so provided against the heaping up of so much treasure, as might impoverish the people. He thought that moderate sum might be sufficient for any accident, if either the king had occasion for it against rebels, or the kingdom against the invasion of an enemy; but that it was not enough to encourage a prince to invade other men's rights, which was the chief cause of his making that law. He also thought, that it was a good provision for a free circulation of money; that it is necessary for the course of commerce and exchange; and when a king must distribute all these extraordinary accessions that increase treasure beyond the due pitch,

[78] Here the author fails of his usual sagacity. For, upon such persons, what force or power have oaths? Was a king ever known to keep an oath, when to break it seemed more for his advantage? Bayle, on this point, saw further than Sir Thomas More. "Entant que homme, il vous dise sincerement, comme un autre, *amicus usque ad aras;* mais, entant que souverain, s'il parle selon sa pensee, il vous dira, j'observerai le traité de paix, pendant qne le *bien* de mon royaume le demandera; je me moquerai de mon serment, des que la maxime de l'Etat le voudra." *Dict. Hist. et crit. art. Agesilaus, rem. H.*

it makes him less disposed to oppress his subjects. Such a king as this is, will be the terror of ill men, and will be beloved of all good men.

"If, I say, I should talk of these or such like things, to men that had taken their bias another way, how deaf would they be to it all?" "No doubt, very deaf," answered I; "and no wonder; for one is never to offer at propositions or advices, that he is certain will not be entertained. Discourses so much out of the road could not avail anything, or have any effect on men, whose minds were prepossessed with different sentiments. This philosophical way of speculation is not unpleasant among friends in a free conversation, but there is no room for it in the courts of princes, where great affairs are carried on by authority."[79]

"That is what I was saying," replied he, "that there is no room for philosophy in the courts of princes." "Yes, there is," said I; "but not for this speculative philosophy, that makes every thing to be alike fitting at all times. But there is another philosophy that is more pliable, that knows its proper scene, and accommodates itself to it; and that teaches a man to act that part which has fallen to his share fitly and decently. If, when one of Plautus's comedies is upon the stage, and a company of servants are acting their parts, you should come out in the garb of a philosopher, and repeat, out of Octavia, a discourse of Seneca's to Nero, had it not been better for you to have said nothing, than by mixing

[79] Exactly, and in opposition to reason.

things of such different natures, to have made such an impertinent tragi-comedy? For you spoil and corrupt the play that is in hand, when you mix with it things disagreeing to it, even though they were better than it is: therefore go through with the play that is acting the best you can; and do not confound it, because another that is pleasanter comes into your thoughts. It is even so in a commonwealth, and in the councils of princes. If ill opinions cannot be quite rooted out, and if you cannot cure some received vices according to your wishes, you must not therefore abandon the commonwealth, or forsake the ship in a storm, because you cannot command the winds; nor ought you to assault people with discourses that are out of their road, when you see their notions are such that you can make no impression on them: but you ought to cast about, and as far as you can to manage things dexterously, that so if you cannot make matters go well, they may be as little ill as is possible. For except all men were good,[60] all things cannot go well; which I do not hope to see in a great while."

"By this," answered he, "all that I shall do shall be to preserve myself from being mad, while I endeavour to cure the madness of other people: for, if I will speak truth, I must say such things as I was formerly saying; and for

[60] We have not here the opinion of Sir Thomas More, though he appears to support it. It will be seen in the sequel how he demolishes, *de fond en comble*, this maxim of temporizers, who would have men tolerate all the evils which are *difficult* to be removed.

lying, whether a philosopher can do it or not I cannot tell—I am sure I cannot do it. But though these discourses may be uneasy and ungrateful to them, I do not see why they should seem foolish or extravagant: indeed, if I should either propose such things as Plato has contrived in his commonwealth, or as the Utopians practise in theirs, though they might seem better, as certainly they are, yet they are so quite different from our establishment, which is founded on property, there being no such thing among them, that I could not expect that it should have any effect on them. But such discourses as mine, that only call past evils to mind, and give warning of what may follow, have nothing in them that is so absurd, that they may not be used at any time; for they can only be unpleasant to those who are resolved to run headlong the contrary way: and if we must let alone every thing as absurd or extravagant, which by reason of the wicked lives of many, may seem uncouth, we must, even among Christians, give over pressing the greatest part of those things that Christ hath taught us: though he has commanded us not to conceal them, but to proclaim on the house tops that which he taught in secret. The greater part of his precepts are more disagreeing to the lives of the men of this age, than any part of my discourse has been;[81] but the preachers seem to have learned that craft to which

[81] They are; yet who will dare to say they are therefore Utopian?

you advise me: for they observing that the world would not willingly suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine, as if it had been a leaden rule to their lives;[82] that so, some way or other, they might agree with one another. But I see no other effect of this compliance, except it be that men become more secure in their wickedness by it. And this is all the success that I can have in a court; for I must always differ from the rest, and then I will signify nothing; or if I agree with them, then I will only help forward their madness. I do not comprehend what you mean by your casting about, or by the bending and handling things so dexterously, that if they go not well, they may go as little ill as may be: for in courts they will not bear with a man's holding his peace, or conniving at them. A man must bare-facedly approve of the worst councils, and consent to the blackest designs; so that one would pass for a spy, or possibly for a traitor,[83] that did but coldly approve of such wicked practices. And when a man is engaged in such a society, he will be so far from being able to mend matters by his casting about, as you call it, that he will find

[82] See, on this subject, the very admirable remarks of Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, II. i. 11. Pascal, with that unrivalled power of irony which distinguishes him, has entered into minute details, and proved by numerous quotations, the truth at which Sir Thomas More only hints. See his "Lettres Provinciales," particularly the seventh, in which he discusses the "curious question" proposed by Caramuel,—"savoirs s'il est permis aux jesuites de tuer les jansenistes!" t. I. p. 151.

[83] Another important maxim of state.

no occasions of doing any good; the ill company will sooner corrupt him, than be the better for him: or if, notwithstanding all their ill company, he remains still entire and innocent, yet their follies and knavery will be imputed to him; and by mixing councils with them, he must bear his share of all the blame that belongs wholly to others.

It was no ill simile, by which Plato set forth the unreasonableness of a philosopher's meddling with government. 'If one,' says he, 'shall see a great company run out into the rain every day, and delight to be wet in it; and if he knows that it will be to no purpose for him to go and persuade them to come into their houses, and avoid the rain; so that all that can be expected from his going to speak to them will be, that he shall be wet with them; when it is so, he does best to keep within doors, and preserve himself, since he cannot prevail enough to correct other people's folly.'

"Though, to speak plainly what is my heart, I must freely own to you, that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily. Not justly, because the best things will fall to the share of the worst men; nor happily, because all things will be divided among a few, (and even these are not in all respects happy,) the rest being left to be absolutely miserable.[84] Therefore when I reflect

[84] But to annihilate property, because it is unequally divided, would be like cutting off one's legs to cure the gout. I am surprised, after the admirable exposé of Aristotle, that any

on the wise and good constitutions of the Utopians, among whom all things are so well governed, and with so few laws; and among whom as virtue hath its due reward, yet there is such an equality that every man lives in plenty: and when I compare with them so many other nations that are still making new laws, and yet can never bring their constitution to a right regulation, among whom though every one has his property, yet all the laws that they can invent cannot prevail so far, that men can either obtain or preserve it, or be certainly able to distinguish what is their own, from what is another man's, (of which the many law-suits that every day break out, and depend without any end, give too plain a demonstration;)[85] when, I say, I balance all these things in my thoughts, I grow more favourable to Plato, and do not wonder that he resolved, not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things. For so wise a man as he was, could not but foresee, that the setting all upon the level was the only way to make a nation happy, which cannot be obtained as long as there is property: for

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man, least of all Sir Thomas More, should have ventured to advocate it. Besides being impossible, which, one might think, would be sufficient to satisfy most persons, Aristotle completely proves that, even if it could be realized, no advantage, but the contrary, would arise from it. Property is evidently intended by Providence to be one great instrument of civilization.

[85] We must here reply in the hackneyed, but beautiful lines of Shakespear, that we are wise, perhaps, in preferring rather

"To bear the ills we have,
Than fly to others that we know not of."

when every man draws to himself all that he can compass, by one title or another, it must needs follow, that how plentiful soever a nation may be, yet a few dividing the wealth of it among themselves,[86] the rest must fall under poverty. So that there will be two sorts of people among them, that deserve that their fortunes should be interchanged: the former being useless, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter, who by their constant industry serve the public more than themselves, being sincere and modest men. From whence I am persuaded, that till property is taken away, there can be no equitable or just distribution made of things, nor can the world be happily governed; for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties. I confess, without the taking of it quite away, those pressures that lie on a great part of mankind, may be made lighter, but they can never be quite removed. For if laws were made, determining at how great an extent in soil, and at how much money every man must stop,[87] and

[86] *Here* is the evil, in the bad division, not in the existence of property. But the remedy for this, as far as remedy is practicable, or perhaps, in our present state, desirable, is in the hands of every legislature. Abolish the law of primogeniture, with everything like *entail*, or necessary succession, and things will soon find the level ordained by nature.

[87] All laws of this description are useless, because they may be so easily evaded. Sir Thomas had the Spartan commonwealth before him, where regulations of this kind had a fairer trial than they will be likely ever to have again; and he saw how inefficient they were to restrain luxury and the lust of wealth.

limiting the prince that he may not grow too great, and restraining the people that they may not become too insolent, and that none might factiously aspire to public employments; and that they might neither be sold nor made burthensome by a great expense, since otherwise those that serve in them, will be tempted to reimburse themselves by cheats and violence, and it will become necessary to find out rich men for undergoing those employments for which wise men ought rather to be sought out;[88] these laws, I say, may have such effects, as good diet and care may have on a sick man, whose recovery is desperate—they may allay and mitigate the disease, but it can never be quite healed, nor the body politic be brought again to a good habit, as long as property remains. And it will fall out, as in a complication of diseases, that by applying a remedy to one sore, you will provoke another; and that which removes the one ill symptom produces others, while the strengthening of one part of the body weakens the rest."

"On the contrary," answered I, "it seems to me that men cannot live conveniently, where all things are common. How can there be any plenty, where every man will excuse himself from labour?[89]

[88] He would have no *property qualification* for Members of Parliament. Character and abilities were, in his opinion, a better guarantee for good conduct, than the possession of any given amount of money, houses, or lands. His views are once more brought forward, and not without a probability that they may ere long be acted on.

[89] He has here put a question, which has never to this day been satisfactorily answered.

For as the hope of gain doth not excite him, so the confidence he has in other men's industry may make him slothful. And if people come to be pinched with want, and yet cannot dispose of anything as their own, what can follow upon this but perpetual sedition and bloodshed, especially when the reverence and authority due to magistrates falls to the ground? For I cannot imagine how that can be kept up among those that are in all things equal to one another."

"I do not wonder," said he, "that it appears so to you, since you have no notion, or at least no right one, of such a constitution: but if you had been in Utopia with me, and had seen their laws and rules as I did, for the space of five years, in which I lived among them, and during which time I was so delighted with them, that indeed I would never have left them if it had not been to make the discovery of that new world to the Europeans, you would then confess that you had never seen a people so well constituted as they are."

"You will not easily persuade me," said Peter, "that any nation in that new world is better governed than those among us. For as our understandings are not worse than theirs, so our government, if I mistake not, being more ancient, a long practice has helped us to find out many conveniences of life; and some happy chances have discovered other things to us, which no man's understanding could ever have invented."

"As for the antiquity, either of their government or of ours," said he, "you cannot pass a true judg-

ment of it, unless you had read their histories; for if they are to be believed, they had towns among them before these parts were so much as inhabited; and as for these discoveries that have been either hit on by chance, or made by ingenious men, these might have happened there as well as here.[90] I do not deny but we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed us much in industry and application. They knew little concerning us before our arrival among them. They call us all by a general name of the nations that lie beyond the equinoctial line; for their chronicle mentions a shipwreck that was made on their coast twelve hundred years ago, and that some Romans and Egyptians that were in the ship getting safe ashore, spent the rest of their days amongst them. And such was their ingenuity, that from this single opportunity they drew the advantage of learning, from those unlooked-for guests, all the useful arts that were then among the Romans, which those shipwrecked men knew; and by the hints that they gave them, they themselves found out even some of those arts which they could not fully explain to them; so happily did they improve that accident of having some of our people cast upon their shore. But if any such accident have at any time brought any from thence into Europe, we have been so far from improving it, that we do not

[90] Mr. Keightley, in the introduction to his delightful little volume on the origin and transmission of Popular Fictions, has several very excellent remarks on this subject, which the reader will be profited by perusing.

so much as remember it: as in after times, perhaps, it will be forgot by our people that I was ever there. For though they from one such accident made themselves masters of all the good inventions that were among us, yet I believe it would be long before we would learn or put in practice any of the good institutions that are among them: and this is the true cause of their being better governed, and living happier than we do, though we come not short of them in point of understanding or outward advantages."

Upon this I said to him, "I do earnestly beg of you, that you would describe that island very particularly to us. Be not too short in it, but set out in order all things relating to their soil, their rivers, their towns, their people, their manners, constitution, laws, and, in a word, all that you imagine we desire to know; and you may well imagine that we desire to know everything concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant." "I will do it very willingly," said he, "for I have digested the whole matter carefully, but it will take up some time." "Let us go then," said I, "first and dine, and then we shall have leisure enough." "Be it so," said he.[91]

So we went in and dined, and after dinner

[91] In these parts of the work, no less than in Cicero's fine Dialogue on the Orator, I miss that admirable art which distinguishes from all other productions of the kind the Dialogues of Plato. In these, whatever breaks there are, seem to grow up out of the subject, not to be made for mere convenience, as they are in the present volume.

we came back and sat down in the same place. I ordered my servants to take care that none might come and interrupt us, and both Peter and I desired Raphael to be as good as his word. So when he saw that we were very intent upon it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this manner.

BOOK II.

"The island of Utopia in the middle, where it is broadest, is two hundred miles broad, and holds almost at the same breadth over a great part of it, but grows narrower towards both ends. Its figure is not unlike a crescent; between its horns the sea comes in eleven miles broad, and spreads itself into a great bay, which is environed with land to the compass of about five hundred miles, and is well secured from winds. There is no great current in the bay, and the whole coast is, as it were, one continued harbour, which gives all that live in the island great convenience for mutual commerce; but the entry into the bay, what by rocks on one hand, and shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the middle of it there is one single rock which appears above water, and so is not dangerous: on the top of it there is a tower built, in which a garrison is kept. The other rocks lie under water, and are very dangerous. The channel is known only to the natives; so that if any stranger should enter into the bay, without one of their pilots, he would run a great danger of shipwreck; for even they themselves could not pass it safe, if some marks that are on their coast did not direct their way;

and if these should be but a little shifted, any fleet that might come against them, how great soever it were, would be certainly lost. On the other side of the island there are likewise many harbours; and the coast is so fortified, both by nature and art, that a small number of men can hinder the descent of a great army. But they report (and there remain good marks of it to make it credible) that this was no island at first, but a part of the continent. Utopus that conquered it (whose name it still carries, for Abraxa was its first name, and[92] brought the rude and uncivilized inhabitants into such a good government, and to that measure of politeness that they do now far excel all the rest of mankind. Having soon subdued them, he designed to separate them from the continent, and to bring the sea quite about them; and in order to that, he made a deep channel to be digged, fifteen miles long. He not only forced the inhabitants to work at it, but likewise his own soldiers, that the natives might not think he treated them like slaves; and, having set vast numbers of men to work, he brought it to a speedy conclusion, beyond all men's expectations. By this their neighbours, who laughed at the folly of the undertaking at first, were struck with admiration and terror, when they saw it brought to perfection.

"There are fifty-four cities in the island, all

[92] An exact imitation of the manner of the Greek historians, who constantly, in speaking of any place, mention the name by which it was anciently known, with the legend invented, perhaps, to account for it.

large and well-built. The manners, customs, and laws of all their cities are the same, and they are all contrived as near in the same manner as the ground on which they stand will allow; the nearest lie at least twenty-four miles distance from one another, and the most remote are not so far distant but that a man can go on foot in one day from it to that which lies next it.[93] Every city sends three of their wisest senators once a year to Amaurot, for consulting about their common concerns; for that is the chief town of the island, being situated near the centre of it, so that it is the most convenient place for their assemblies. Every city has so much ground set off for its jurisdiction that there is twenty miles of soil round it, assigned to it; and where the towns lie wider, they have much more ground. No town desires to enlarge their bounds; for they consider themselves rather as tenants than landlords of their soil.

"They have built over all the country, farm-houses for husbandmen, which are well-contrived, and are furnished with all things necessary for country labour. Inhabitants are sent by turns from the cities to dwell in them; no country family has fewer than forty men and women in it, besides two slaves. There is a master and a mistress set over every family; and over thirty families there is a magistrate settled. Every year, twenty of this family come back to the town, after they have stayed out two years in the coun-

[93] This was the case with the several *Demi* of Attica.

try; and, in their room, there are other twenty sent from the town, that they may learn country work from those that have been already one year in the country, which they must teach those that come to them the next year from the town. By this means such as dwell in those country farms are never ignorant of agriculture, and so commit no errors in it, which might otherwise be fatal to them, and bring them under a scarcity of corn. But, though there is every year such a shifting of the husbandmen, that none may be forced against his mind to follow that hard course of life too long, yet many among them take such pleasure in it, that they desire leave to continue many years in it. These husbandmen labour the ground, breed cattle, hew wood, and convey it to the towns, either by land or water, as is most convenient. They breed an infinite multitude of chickens in a very curious manner; for the hens do not sit and hatch them, but they lay vast numbers of eggs in a gentle and equal heat, in which they are hatched;[94] and they are no sooner out of the shell, and able to stir about, but they seem to consider those that feed them as their mothers, and follow them as other chickens do the hen that hatched them. They breed very few horses, but those they have are full of mettle, and are kept only for exercising their youth in the art of sitting and riding

[94] See a full account of this process in "Egypt and Mohammed Ali," where I have brought together many passages of ancient authors who mention the subject. Vol. II. pp. 327. 577. ff.

of them; for they do not put them to any work, either of ploughing or carriage, in which they employ oxen; for, though horses are stronger, yet they find oxen can hold out longer; and, as they are not subject to so many diseases, so they are kept upon a less charge, and with less trouble; and when they are so worn out that they are no more fit for labour, they are good meat at last. They sow no corn but that which is to be their bread; for they drink either wine, cider, or perry, and often water,—sometimes pure, and sometimes boiled with honey or liquorice, with which they abound.[95] And, though they know exactly well how much corn will serve every town, and all that tract of country which belongs to it, yet they sow much more, and breed more cattle than are necessary for their consumption; and they give that overplus of which they make no use to their neighbours. When they want anything in the country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the town, without carrying anything in exchange for it; and the magistrates of the town take care to see it given them; for they meet generally in the town once a month, upon a festival day. When the time of harvest comes, the magistrates in the country send to those in the towns, and let them know how many hands they will need for reaping the harvest; and the number they call for being sent to them, they commonly dispatch it all in one day.

[95] At this day a common drink of the lower orders in Paris.

OF THEIR TOWNS, PARTICULARLY OF AMAUROT.

"He that knows one of their towns knows them all, they are so like one another, except where the situation makes some difference. I shall therefore describe one of them, and it is no matter which; but none is so proper as Amaurot; for, as none is more eminent, all the rest yielding in precedence to this, because it is the seat of their supreme council, so there was none of them better known to me, I having lived for five years altogether in it.

"It lies upon the side of a hill, or rather a rising ground. Its figure is almost square; for from the one side of it, which shoots up almost to the top of the hill, it runs down in a descent for two miles to the river Anider; but it is a little broader the other way that runs along by the bank of that river. The Anider rises about eighty miles above Amaurot, in a small spring at first; but, other brooks falling into it, of which two are more considerable, as it runs by Amaurot it is grown half-a-mile broad; but it still grows larger and larger till, after sixty miles' course below it, it is buried in the ocean. Between the town and the sea, and for some miles above the town, it ebbs and flows every six hours with a strong current. The tide comes up for about thirty miles so full that there is nothing but salt water in the river, the fresh water being driven back with its force; and above that for some miles the water is brackish, but a

little higher, as it runs by the town, it is quite fresh; and, when the tide ebbs, it continues fresh all along to the sea.[96] There is a bridge cast over the river, not of timber, but of fair stone, consisting of many stately arches; it lies at that part of the town which is farthest from the sea, so that ships without any hindrance lie all along the side of the town. There is likewise another river that runs by it, which though it is not great, yet it runs pleasantly, for it rises out of the same hill on which the town stands, and so runs down through it, and falls in the Anider. The inhabitants have fortified the fountain-head of this river, which springs a little without the town; that so, if they should happen to be besieged, the enemy might not be able to stop or divert the course of the water, nor poison it; from thence it is carried in earthern pipes to the lower streets; and for those places of the town to which the water of that small river cannot be conveyed, they have great cisterns for receiving the rain-water, which supplies the want of the other. The town is compassed with a high and thick wall, in which there are many towers and forts; there is also a broad and deep dry ditch, set thick with thorns, cast round three sides of the town, and the river is instead of a ditch on the fourth side. The streets are made very convenient for all carriages, and are well sheltered from the winds. Their buildings are good, and are so uniform that a whole side of a street looks

[96] The Thames is the original of the river of Amaurot.

like one house.[97] The streets are twenty feet broad; there lie gardens behind all their houses; these are large, but inclosed with buildings that on all hands face the streets; so that every house has both a door to the street, and a back-door to the garden; their doors have all two leaves, which as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own accord; and, there being no property among them, every man may freely enter into any house whatsoever. At every ten years' end they shift their houses by lots. They cultivate their gardens with great care, so that they have both vines, fruits, herbs, and flowers in them; and all is well ordered and so finely kept, that I never saw gardens anywhere that were both so fruitful as theirs are. And this humour of ordering their gardens so well, is not only kept up by the pleasure they find in it, but also by an emulation between the inhabitants of the several streets, who vie with one another in this matter; and there is, indeed, nothing belonging to the whole town that is both more useful and more pleasant. So that he who founded the town seems to have taken care of nothing more than of their gardens; for they say the whole scheme of the town was designed at first by Uto-

[97] The remark on the regularity of the buildings was made by the ancients on the cities erected by Hippodamos, the architect of the Peiræus. With respect to the width of the streets, since twenty feet were accounted sufficient, we may infer that in those times the space between the houses in English cities was small indeed;—exactly as it is now in Cairo and other cities of the East.

pus; but he left all that belonged to the ornament and improvement of it, to be added by those that should come after him, that being too much for one man to bring to perfection. Their records, that contain the history of their town and state, are preserved with an exact care, and run backwards seventeen hundred and sixty years. From these it appears, that their houses were at first low and mean, like cottages, made of any sort of timber, and were built with mud walls, and thatched with straw. But now their houses are three stories high, the fronts of them are faced either with stone, plaistering, or brick; and between the facings of their walls they throw in their rubbish; their roofs are flat, and on them they lay a sort of plaister which costs very little, and yet it is so tempered that it is not apt to take fire, so it resists the weather more than lead does. They have abundance of glass among them, with which they glaze their windows; they use also in their windows a thin linen cloth that is so oiled or gummed, that by that means it both lets in the light more freely to them, and keeps out the wind the better.

OF THEIR MAGISTRATES.

"Thirty families choose every year a magistrate, who was called anciently the Syphogrant, but is now called the Philarch;[98] and over every ten sypho-

[98] Translated, this word would signify "a lover of rule;" and this, no doubt, was the sense in which Sir Thomas More would

grants, with the families subject to them, there is another magistrate, who was anciently called the Tranibore, but of late the Archphilarch. All the syphogrants, who are in number two hundred, choose the Prince out of a list of four, whom the people of the four divisions of the city name to them, but they take an oath before they proceed to an election that they will choose him whom they think meetest for the office; they give their voices secretly, so that it is not known for whom everyone gives his suffrage.[99] The prince is for life, unless he is removed upon suspicion of some design to enslave the people. The tranibors are newly chosen every year, but they are for the most part still continued. All their other magistrates are only annual.

"The tranibors meet every third day, and oftener if need be, and consult with the prince, either concerning the affairs of the state in general, or such private differences as may arise sometimes among the people; though that falls out but seldom. There are always two syphogrants called into the council-chamber, and these are changed every day. It is a fundamental rule of their government, that no conclusion can be made in anything that relates to the public, till it has been first debated three several days in their council. It is

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have it understood. But there were officers at Athens, both civil and military, who were denominated *Phylarchs*, from φῦλον and ἀρχή. *Pollux.* I. 128. III. 53. VIII. 87, 94, 114. *Conf. Plat. Rep.* VIII. 5, 180. *Stallbaum.*

[99] Vote by Ballot.

death for any to meet and consult concerning the state, unless it be either in their ordinary council, or in the assembly of the whole body of the people.

"These things have been so provided among them, that the prince and the tranibors may not conspire together to change the government, and enslave the people; and, therefore, when anything of great importance is set on foot, it is sent to the syphogrants, who, after they have communicated it with the families that belong to their divisions, and have considered it among themselves, make report to the senate; and upon great occasions, the matter is referred to the council of the whole island. One rule observed in their council is, never to debate a thing on the same day in which it is first proposed; for that is always referred to the next meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the heat of discourse engage themselves too soon, which may bias them so much that, instead of considering the good of the public, they will rather study to maintain their own notions; and, by a perverse and preposterous sort of shame, hazard their country, rather than endanger their own reputation, or venture the being suspected to have wanted foresight in the expedients that they proposed at first. And, therefore, to prevent this they take care that they may rather be deliberate than sudden in their motions.

OF THEIR TRADES, AND MANNER OF LIFE.

"Agriculture is that which is so universally understood among them all, that no person, either man or woman, is ignorant of it; from their childhood they are instructed in it, partly by what they learn at school, and partly by practice, they being led out often into the fields about the town, where they not only see others at work, but are likewise exercised in it themselves.[100]

"Besides agriculture, which is so common to them all, every man has some peculiar trade to which he applies himself, such as the manufacture of wool, or flax, masonry, smiths' work, or carpenters' work; for there is no other sort of trade that is in great esteem among them.

"All the island over they wear the same sort of clothes, without any other distinction except that which is necessary for marking the difference between the two sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never alters; and, as it is not ungrateful, nor uneasy, so it is fitted for their climate, and calculated both for their summers and winters. Every family makes their own clothes; but all among them, women as well as men, learn

[100] Agriculture, though not unfavourable to personal comfort and independence, very often indisposes men to assert their political rights. Rural populations, being, in fact, generally ignorant, easily become a prey to designing and plausible knaves. Whatever divides men brutalizes them. They can only be civilized by being brought together in masses.

one or other of the trades formerly mentioned. Women, for the most part, deal in wool and flax, which suit better with their feebleness, leaving the other ruder trades to the men. Generally the same trade passes down from father to son, inclinations often following descent;[101] but if any man's genius lies another way, he is by adoption translated into a family that deals in the trade to which he is inclined; and when that is to be done, care is taken, not only by his father but by the magistrate, that he may be put to a discreet and good man. And if, after a man has learned one trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed in the same manner as the former. When he has learned both, he follows that which he likes best, unless the public has more occasion for the other.

"The chief, and almost the only business of the syphogrants is, to take care that no man may live idle, but that every one may follow his trade diligently.[102] Yet they do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden, which as it is indeed a heavy slavery, so it is the common course of life of all tradesmen everywhere, except among the Utopians; but they, dividing the day and night into

[101] More or less this must be the case in all countries. But it is apt to create a spirit of *caste*, than which nothing can be more unfavourable to freedom or to happiness. The Egyptians were enslaved by it, and the Hindoos are, though no institutions have ever been able to maintain it rigidly.

[102] A law of Solon.

twenty-four hours, appoint six of these for work, three of them are before dinner; and after that they dine, and interrupt their labour for two hours, and then they go to work again for other three hours, and after that they sup, and at eight o'clock, counting from noon, they go to bed, and sleep eight hours; and for their other hours, besides those of work, and those that go for eating and sleeping, they are left to every man's discretion: yet they are not to abuse that interval to luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise, according to their various inclinations, which is for the most part reading.

"It is ordinary to have public lectures every morning before day-break;[103] to which none are obliged to go but those that are marked out for literature; yet a great many, both men and women of all ranks, go to hear lectures of one sort or another, according to the variety of their inclinations. But if others that are not made for contemplation choose rather to employ themselves at that time in their trade, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are commended rather as men that take care to serve their country. After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion; in summer it is in their gardens, and in winter it is in the halls

[103] The little Arab boys in Marocco follow this plan. Every morning they are in the mosque before sunrise, where the Sheïkh expounds to them the Koran, and teaches the elements of reading and writing. Among the poor there is only one hour devoted to learning every day; for immediately after breakfast all the pupils go to work, and are employed till the evening. The rich do as they please.

where they eat; and they entertain themselves in them, either with music or discourse. They do not so much as know dice, or such like foolish and mischievous games. They have two sorts of games not unlike our chess; the one is between several numbers, by which one number, as it were, consumes another; the other resembles a battle between the vices and the virtues, in which the enmity in the vices among themselves, and their agreement against virtue is not unpleasantly represented; together with the special oppositions between the particular virtues and vices; as also the methods by which vice does either openly assault or secretly undermine virtue, and virtue, on the other hand, resists it, and the means by which either side obtains the victory.

"But this matter of the time set off for labour is to be narrowly examined, otherwise you may, perhaps, imagine that, since there are only six hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions. But it is so far from being true, that this time is not sufficient for supplying them with a plenty of all things, that are either necessary or convenient, that it is rather too much; and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle. First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind;[104] and if some few women are dili-

[104] Women were generally industrious at Athens, except the very rich. In our own country, and in Germany, the same thing could once be said; but other maxims now prevail, and it is thought more becoming in a woman to discuss the merits of

gent their husbands are idle. Then consider the great company of the idle priests, and of those that are called religious men; add to these all the rich men, chiefly those that have estates in lands, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons that do nothing but go swaggering about.[105] Reckon in with these all those strong and lusty beggars that go about pretending some disease in excuse for their begging; and upon the whole account you will find that the number of those by whose labours mankind are supplied, is much less than you did perhaps imagine. Then consider how few of those that work are employed in labours that men do really need; for we who measure all things by money, give occasions to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and that serve only to support riot and luxury. For if those who are at work were employed only in such things as the conveniences of life require, there would be such an abundance of them, and by that means the prices of them would so sink, that tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains; if all those who labour about useless things were set to more profitable trades; and if all that number that languish out their life in sloth and idleness, of whom every one consumes as much as any two of the men that are

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opera-dancers, or novels written by or for that class of people, than to know aught of household matters.

[105] Sir Thomas More, we see, was no admirer of the Almack coteries, *et hoc genus omne*. He must have been a singular courtier!

at work do, were forced to labour, you may easily imagine that a small proportion of time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to mankind, pleasure being still kept within its due bounds, which appears very plainly in Utopia, for there, in a great city, and in all the territory that lies round it, you can scarce find five hundred, either men or women, that by their age and strength are capable of labour, that are not engaged in it; even the syphogrants themselves, though the law excuses them, yet do not excuse themselves, that so by their examples they may excite the industry of the rest of the people; the like exemption is allowed to those who, being recommended to the people by the priests, are by the secret suffrages of the syphogrants privileged from labour, that they may apply themselves wholly to study; and if any of these fall short of those hopes that he seemed to give at first, he is obliged to go to work.[106] And sometimes a mechanic that does so employ his leisure hours that he makes a considerable advancement in learning is eased from being a tradesman, and ranked among their learned men. Out of these they choose their ambassadors, their priests, their tranibors, and the prince himself, who was anciently called their Barzenes, but is called of late their Ademus.

"And thus from the great numbers among them that are neither suffered to be idle, nor to be employed in any fruitless labour; you may easily

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[105] A regulation of Plato.

make the estimate, how much good work may be done in those few hours in which they are obliged to labour. But besides all that has been already said, this is to be considered, that those needful arts which are among them are managed with less labour than anywhere else. The building, or the repairing of houses among us, employs many hands, because often a thriftless heir suffers a house that his father built to fall into decay, so that his successor must, at a great cost, repair that which he might have kept up with a small charge: and often it falls out, that the same house which one built at a vast expense, is neglected by another that thinks he has a more delicate sense of such things, and he suffering it to fall to ruin, builds another at no less charge.[107] But among the Utopians, all things are so regulated, that men do very seldom build upon any new piece of ground; and they are not only very quick in repairing their houses, but show their foresight in preventing their decay, so that their buildings are preserved very long, with very little labour: and thus the craftsmen to whom that care belongs, are often without any employment, except it be the hewing of timber, and the squaring of stones, that so the materials may be in readiness for raising a building very suddenly when there is any occasion for it.

"As for their clothes, observe how little work goes for them. While they are at labour, they are clothed with leather and skins, cast care-

[107] Every day furnishes examples of this.

lessly about them, which will last seven years;[108] and when they appear in public, they put on an upper garment, which hides the other, and these are all of one colour, and that is the natural colour of the wool:[109] and as they need less woollen cloth than is used anywhere else, so that which they do need is much less costly. They use linen cloth more: but that is prepared with less labour, and they value cloth only by the whiteness of the linen, or the cleanness of the wool, without much regard to the fineness of the thread; and whereas in other places, four or five upper garments of woollen cloth, and of different colours, and as many vests of silk will scarce serve one man; and those that are nicer, think ten too few: every man there is contented with one, which very oft serves him two years. Nor is there anything that can tempt a man to desire more; for if he had them, he would neither be the warmer, nor would he make one jot the better appearance for it.

"And thus since they are all employed in some useful labour, and since they content themselves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them; so that often, for want of other work, if there is any need of mending their highways at any time, you will see marvellous numbers of people brought out to work at them; and when there is no occasion of any public

[108] Dress of the Greek peasants.

[109] A Spartan fashion. Dyers were not suffered to reside in the city; and they considered coloured cloths as so much good wool spoiled.

work, the hours of working are lessened by public proclamation, for the magistrates do not engage the people into any needless labour, since by their constitution they aim chiefly at this, that except in so far as public necessity requires it, all the people may have as much free time for themselves as may be necessary for the improvement of their minds, for in this they think the happiness of life consists.[110]

OF THEIR TRAFFIC.

"But it is now time to explain to you the mutual intercourse of this people, their commerce, and the rules by which all things are distributed among them. As their cities are composed of families, so their families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the males, both children and grandchildren, live still in the same house, in great obedience to their common parent,

[110] But in vicious governments it is important to deprive the people of leisure, and prevent their acquiring knowledge; or, if any instruction is allowed them, it must be sophisticated and perverted, as in the empire of Austria, and some other countries I could name, where the history of ancient states is falsified for the purpose of bringing democracy into discredit. Information so conveyed is worse than ignorance; for the man who knows nothing, must in general be aware of his deficiency; while those who derive their instruction from the pernicious sophists who convert history and criticism into a party pamphlet, like Messrs. Mitford and Mitchell, puff up their readers with the notion that they possess knowledge, though they have only stuffed their minds with second-hand prejudices.

unless age has weakened his understanding;[111] and in that case, he that is next to him in age comes in his room. But lest any city should become either out of measure great, or fall under a dispeopling by any accident, provision is made that none of their cities may have above six thousand families in it, besides those of the country round it, and that no family may have less than ten, and more than sixteen persons it; but there can be no determined number for the children under age: and this rule is easily observed, by removing some of the children of a more fruitful couple to any other family that does not abound so much in them. By the same rule, they supply cities that do not increase so fast by others that breed faster:[112] and if there is any increase over the whole island, then they draw out a number of their citizens out of the several towns, and send them over to the neighhouring continent, where, if they find that the inhabitants have more soil than they can well

[111] An Athenian law transferred the management of property to sons, when through age or infirmity the understanding of the father became impaired; and the misfortunes of the poet Sophocles is well known, who had a son so lost to virtue, as to accuse his parent of insanity falsely, for the sake of getting possession of his estate. The tragedy of Œdipus at Kolonos, was the old man's only defence.

[112] The ties of home had evidently little force over Sir Thomas More. He valued not at all the attachment to particular places, which in some is so strong; and I plead guilty to the same indifference. A pleasant place is to me a pleasant place, in whatever country it may be situated; or, if one spot seems more desirable than another, it is where great men have lived or died,—as Marathon, Thermopylæ, Athens, or Rome.

cultivate, they fix a colony, taking in the inhabitants to their society if they will live with them; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly go into their method of life, and to their rules, and this proves a happiness to both the nations: for according to their constitution, such care is taken of the soil, that it becomes fruitful enough for both, though it might be otherwise too narrow and barren for any one of them. But if the natives refuse to conform themselves to their laws, they drive them out of those bounds which they mark out for themselves, and use force if they resist. For they account it a very just cause of war, if any nation will hinder others to come and possess a part of their soil, of which they make no use, but let it lie idle and uncultivated;[113] since every man has by the law of nature a right to such a waste portion of the earth, as is necessary for his subsistence. If any accident has so lessened the number of the inhabitants of any of their towns, that it cannot be made up from the other towns of the island, without diminishing them too much, (which is said to have fallen out but twice since they were first a people, by two plagues that were

[113] This is undoubtedly a sound doctrine. Savages, who make use of but a small portion of a country, have no right to obstruct settlers coming to plant a colony there; but neither have these latter any right, on the other hand, wilfully to molest or harass the natives. At this conclusion we may arrive by the mere exercise of our reason, in the same way as others, whom we now quote as authorities, arrived at it. See Grot. de Jure Belli et Pacis. II. 2. iv. p. 190, with the notes of Gronovius and Barbeyrac.

among them,) then the number is filled up by recalling so many out of their colonies, for they will abandon their colonies, rather than suffer any of their towns to sink too low.

"But to return to the manner of their living together; the ancientest of every family governs it, as has been said. Wives serve their husbands, and children their parents, and always the younger serves the elder. Every city is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of every part there is a market-place. That which is brought thither manufactured by the several families, is carried from thence to houses appointed for that purpose, in which all things of a sort are laid by themselves; and every father of a family goes thither, and takes whatsoever he or his family stand in need of, without either paying for it, or laying in anything in pawn or exchange for it. There is no reason for denying anything to any person, since there is such plenty of everything among them: and there is no danger of any man's asking more than he needs; for what should make any do that, since they are all sure that they will be always supplied? It is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals either greedy or ravenous;[114] but besides

[114] In irrational animals it is not the *fear*, but the *feeling* of want which does this. Man, however, is impelled by his fears in most cases, more than by his hopes; and these, too commonly, render him cruel. Confining himself wholly to this view of the matter, Hobbes was led to derive the origin of society from fear, in which he is only so far wrong as every one must be who attributes to a single cause what arose from many causes. See *De Cive*. l. I. c. i. p. 3. ff.

fear, there is in man a vast pride, that makes him fancy it a particular glory for him to excel others in pomp and excess. But by the laws of the Utopians, there is no room for these things among them. Near these markets there are also others for all sorts of victuals, where there are not only herbs, fruits, and bread, but also fish, fowl, and cattle. There are also without their towns, places appointed near some running water for killing their beasts,[115] and for washing away their filth; which is done by their slaves, for they suffer none of their citizens to kill their cattle, because they think, that pity and good nature, which are among the best of those affections that are born with us, are much impaired by the butchering of animals. Nor do they suffer anything that is foul or unclean to be brought within their towns, lest the air should be infected by ill smells which might prejudice their health. In every street there are great halls that lie at an equal distance from one another, which are marked by particular names. The syphogrants dwell in these that are set over thirty families, fifteen lying on one side of it, and as many on the other. In these they do all meet and eat.[116] The stewards of every one of

[115] The utility of *abattoirs*, we see, was already understood; but it was reserved for our own age to act upon this conviction.

[116] Here we have the Common Halls of Crete and Sparta, which were imitated by the club-rooms at Athens. Sir Thomas More, as the reader will have already seen in the Introduction, though supposed to recommend visionary and impossible things, scarcely advances a notion or establishes a law, in his imaginary state, which had not been actually carried into practice in the ancient world.

them come to the market-place at an appointed hour; and according to the number of those that belong to their hall, they carry home provisions. But they take more care of their sick than of any others, who are looked after, and lodged in public hospitals. They have belonging to every town four hospitals, that are built without their walls, and are so large, that they may pass for little towns: by this means, if they had ever such a number of sick persons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at such a distance, that such of them as are sick of infectious diseases, may be kept so far from the rest, that there can be no danger of contagion. [117] The hospitals are so furnished and stored with all things that are convenient for the ease and recovery of the sick, and those that are put in them are all looked after with so tender and watchful a care, and are so constantly treated by their skilful physicians, that as none are sent to them against their will, so there is scarce one in a whole town, that if he should fall ill, would not choose rather to go thither, than lie sick at home.

"After the steward of the hospitals has taken for them whatsoever the physician does prescribe at the market-place, then the best things that remain are distributed equally among the halls, in proportion to their numbers; only, in the first place, they serve the prince, the chief priest, the tranibors and ambassadors, and strangers, if there are any;

[117] Lazzerettoes. His ideas have been acted on, and carried still further than he himself contemplated by every civilized nation in modern Europe.

which indeed falls out but seldom, and for whom there are houses well furnished, particularly appointed when they come among them.[118] At the hours of dinner and supper, the syphogranty being called together by sound of trumpet, meets and eats together, except only such as are in the hospitals, or lie sick at home. Yet after the halls are served, no man is hindered to carry provisions home from the market-place, for they know that none does that but for some good reason; for though any that will, may eat at home, yet none does it willingly, since it is both an indecent and foolish thing for any to give themselves the trouble to make ready an ill dinner at home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him so near at hand. All the uneasy and sordid services about these halls, are performed by their slaves;[119] but the dressing and cooking of their meat, and the ordering of their tables, belong only to the women, which goes round all the women of every family by turns. They sit at three or more tables, according to their numbers; the men sit towards the wall, and the

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[118] A Cretan regulation, not imitated at Sparta. It was too humane.

[119] That is, convicts. Men of quick feelings would revolt at this; for, though it might possibly benefit the convicts to be thus employed, it would decidedly have an evil influence upon the free population. The practice would be rendered more objectionable by the mingling of the women with those ruffians; who, though manageable enough upon paper, could never in reality have their tongues so far restrained, as to render them safe ministers to modest women. The practice, however, prevailed in Crete, from whence Sir Thomas borrowed it.

women sit on the other side, that if any of them should fall suddenly ill, which is ordinary to women with child, she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the nurse's room, who are there with the suckling children, where there is always fire and clean water at hand, and some cradles in which they may lay the young children, if there is occasion for it, and that they may shift and dress them before the fire.

"Every child is nursed by its own mother, if death or sickness does not intervene;[120] and in that case the syphogrants wives find out a nurse quickly, which is no hard matter to do; for any one that can do it, offers herself cheerfully: for as they are much inclined to that piece of mercy, so the child whom they nurse, considers the nurse as its mother. All the children under five years old, sit among the nurses; the rest of the younger sort of both sexes, till they are fit for marriage, do either serve those that sit at table, or if they are not strong enough for that, they stand by them in great silence, and eat that which is given them by those that sit at table;[121] nor have they any other formality of dining. In the middle of the first table, which stands in the upper end of the hall, across sits the syphogrant and his wife, for that is the chief and most conspicuous place. Next to him sit two of the most ancient, for there go always four to a

[120] Here nature is followed as she ought to be; but the beauty of the practice, and the evils of neglecting it, should be considered in the eloquent pages of Jeremy Taylor's Life of Christ.

[121] Another Doric custom, prevailing in Crete.

mess. If there is a temple within that syphogranty, the priest and his wife sit with the syphogrant. Next them there is a mixture of old and young, who are so placed, that as the young are set near others, so they are mixed with the more ancient, which they say was appointed on this account, that the gravity of the old people, and the reverence that is due to them, might restrain the younger from all indecent words and gestures.[122] Dishes are not served up to the whole table at first, but the best are first set before the ancienter, whose seats are distinguished from the younger, and after them all the rest are served alike. The old men distribute to the younger any curious meats that happen to be set before them, if there is not such an abundance that the whole company may be served.

"Thus old men are honoured with a particular respect; yet all the rest fare as well as they do. They begin both dinner and supper with some lecture of morality that is read to them;[123] but it is so short, that it is not tedious nor uneasy to them to hear it. Upon that the old men take occasion to entertain those about them with some useful and pleasant enlargements; but they do not engross

[122] A Spartan custom, sometimes imitated at Athens.

[123] This is meant to supply the Grace of Christians, and the pious libations of the Pagan world. The Romans, however, who thought they should improve upon the Greek custom of devoting the dinner-hour to the dinner, and to nothing else, had slaves who read to them during meals; a most tedious and impertinent practice, upon which this of the Utopians closely borders.

the whole discourse so to themselves during their meals, that the younger may not put in for a share: on the contrary, they engage them to talk, that so they may in that free way of conversation, find out the force of every one's spirit, and observe their temper. They dispatch their dinners quickly, but sit long at supper; because they go to work after the one, and are to sleep after the other, during which they think the stomach carries on the concoction more vigorously. They never sup without music, and there is always fruit served up after meat; while they sit at meat, some burn perfumes, and sprinkle about sweet ointments, and sweet waters: and they are wanting in nothing that may cheer up their spirits, for they give themselves a large allowance that way, and indulge themselves in all such pleasures as are attended with no inconvenience. Thus do those that are in the towns live together; but in the country, where they live at a greater distance, every one eats at home, and no family wants any necessary sort of provision, for it is from them that provisions are sent unto those that live in the towns.

OF THE TRAVELLING OF THE UTOPIANS.

"If any of them has a mind to visit his friends that live in some other town, or desires to travel and see the rest of the country, he obtains leave very easily from the syphogrants and tranibors to do it, when there is no particular occasion for him

at home.[124] Such as travel carry with them a passport from the prince, which both certifies the licence that is granted for travelling, and limits the time of their return. They are furnished with a waggon and a slave, who drives the oxen, and looks after them; but unless there are women in the company, the waggon is sent back at the end of the journey as a needless trouble. While they are on the road, they carry no provisions with them; yet they want nothing, but are every way treated as if they were at home. If they stay in any place longer than a night, every one follows his proper occupation, and is very well used by those of his own trade; but if any man goes out of the city to which he belongs without leave, and is found going about without a passport, he is roughly handled, and is punished as a fugitive, and sent home disgracefully; and if he falls again into the like fault, he is condemned to slavery.[125] If any man has a mind to travel only over the precinct of his own city, he may freely do it, obtain-

[124] The Spartans, when desirous of travelling, were required to demand permission of the magistrates. There was some wisdom in this; for, though few would vote for adopting the regulation, most persons who have witnessed the evil effects of travel on weak and ill-formed and ill-furnished minds, will confess that, if persons of this description could be kept at home, they would escape innumerable miseries, and ultimately, in many cases, total perdition. Comparatively few persons are capable of travelling without danger to their morals; fewer with the slightest hope of benefiting their minds.

[125] This law shows how fiercely man will legislate on paper, when the meditations of a few years, perhaps, ripen into the model of a state. The severity here, however, is merely ridi-

ing his father's permission and his wife's consent: but when he comes into any of the country houses, he must labour with them according to their rules, if he expects to be entertained by them; and if he does this, he may freely go over the whole precinct, being thus as useful to the city to which he belongs, as if he were still within it. Thus you see that there are no idle persons among them, nor pretences of excusing any from labour. There are no taverns, no ale-houses, nor stews among them, nor any other occasions of corrupting themselves, or of getting into corners, or forming themselves into parties: all men live in full view, so that all are obliged, both to perform their ordinary task, and to employ themselves well in their spare hours. And it is certain, that a people thus ordered must live in a great abundance of all things; and these being equally distributed among them, no man can want anything, or be put to beg.

"In their great council at Amaurot, to which there are three sent from every town once every year, they examine what towns abound in provisions, and what are under any scarcity, that so the one may be furnished from the other; and this is done freely, without any sort of exchange; for according to their plenty or scarcity, they supply, or are supplied from one another; so that indeed the whole island is, as it were, one family. When

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culous; for practically no people would long submit to it, except those who have gone through the several phases of civilization, and have returned to their primitive barbarism, or the enthusiastic framers of a new state.

they have thus taken care of their whole country, and laid up stores for two years, which they do in case that an ill year should happen to come, then they order an exportation of the overplus, both of corn, honey, wood, flax, wool, scarlet, and purple; wax, tallow, leather, and cattle, which they send out commonly in great quantities to other countries. They order a seventh part of all these goods to be freely given to the poor of the countries to which they send them, and they sell the rest at moderate rates. And by this exchange they not only bring back those few things that they need at home, (for indeed they scarce need anything but iron,) but likewise a great deal of gold and silver; and by their driving this trade so long, it is not to be imagined how vast a treasure they have got among them: so that now they do not much care whether they sell off their merchandize for money in hand, or upon trust. A great part of their treasure is now in bonds, but in all their contracts no private man stands bound, but the writing runs in name of the town; and the towns that owe them money, raise it from those private hands that owe it to them, and lay it up in their public chamber, or enjoy the profit of it till the Utopians call for it; and they choose rather to let the greatest part of it lie in their hands, who make advantage by it, than to call it for themselves: but if they see that any of their other neighbours stand more in need of it, then they raise it, and lend it to them, or use it themselves if they are engaged in a war, which is the only occasion that they can

have for all that treasure that they have laid up; and so either in great extremities, or sudden accidents, they may serve themselves by it; chiefly for hiring foreign soldiers, whom they more willingly expose to danger than their own people.[126] They give them great pay, knowing well that this will work even on their enemies, and engage them either to betray their own side, or at least to desert it, or will set them on to mutual factions among themselves. For this end they have an incredible treasure; but they do not keep it as a treasure, but in such a manner as I am almost afraid to tell it, least you think it so extravagant, that you can hardly believe it; which I have the more reason to apprehend from others, because if I had not seen it myself, I could not have been easily persuaded to have believed it upon any man's report.

"It is certain, that all things appear so far incredible to us as they differ from our own customs; but one who can judge aright will not wonder to find that, since their other constitutions differ so much from ours, their value of gold and silver should be measured, not by our standard, but by one that is very different from it; for, since they

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[126] In this no wise or brave nation will ever imitate them. The employment of mercenaries has been the ruin of every people that has had recourse to it, and must always produce the same result. I am surprised, therefore, to find in Sir Thomas More an advocate of anything so pernicious, which should be abandoned to the patronage of those mawkish sentimentalists, who look forward to a time when there will no longer be men for the fulfilment of their predictions.

have no use for money among themselves, but keep it for an accident, that though, as it may possibly fall out, it may have great intervals, they value it no farther than it deserves, or may be useful to them. So that it is plain that they must prefer iron either to gold or silver; for men can no more live without iron than without fire or water;[127] but nature has marked out no use for the other metals with which we may not very well dispense. The folly of man has enhanced the value of gold and silver because of their scarcity; whereas, on the contrary, they reason, that Nature, as an indulgent parent, has given us all the best things very freely and in great abundance, such as are water and earth, but has laid up and hid from us the things that are vain and useless.

"If those metals were laid up in any tower among them, it would give jealousy of the prince and senate, according to that foolish mistrust into which the rabble are apt to fall, as if they intended to cheat the people and make advantages to themselves by it; or, if they should work it into vessels, or any sort of plate, they fear that the people might grow too fond of it, and so be unwilling to let the plate be run down, if a war made it necessary to pay their soldiers with it. Therefore, to prevent all these inconveniences, they have fallen

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[127] This is erroneous. In remote antiquity all the useful implements now made of this metal were manufactured with copper, which they understood the art of hardening, as did likewise the Peruvians, before the discovery of their country by the Spaniards. See the Letters of Count Carli on America.

upon an expedient which, as it agrees with their other policy, so is very different from ours, and will scarcely gain belief among us, who value gold so much, and lay it up so carefully; for, whereas they eat and drink out of vessels of earth, or glass, that, though they look very pretty, yet are of very slight materials, they make their chamber-pots and close-stools of gold and silver; and that not only in their public halls, but in their private houses. Of the same metals they likewise make chains and fetters for their slaves; and, as a badge of infamy, they hang an earring of gold to some, and make others wear a chain or a coronet of gold; and thus they take care by all manner of ways, that gold and silver may be of no esteem among them. And from hence it is, that, whereas other nations part with their gold and their silver as unwillingly as if one tore out their bowels, those of Utopia would look on their giving in all their gold or silver, when there was any use for it, but as the parting with a trifle, or as we would estimate the loss of a penny. They find pearls on their coast, and diamonds and carbuncles on their rocks; they do not look after them, but, if they find any by chance, they polish them, and therewith adorn their children, who are delighted with and glory in them during their childhood; but, when they grow to years, and see that none but children use such baubles, they of their own accord, without being bid by their parents, lay them aside, and would be as much ashamed to use them afterwards, as children among us, when they come

to years are of their nuts, puppets, and other toys.[128]

"I never saw a clearer instance of the different impressions that different customs make on people than I observed in the ambassadors of the Anemolians, who came to Amaurot when I was there. And, because they came to treat of affairs of great consequence, the deputies from several towns had met to wait for their coming. The ambassadors of the nations that lie near Utopia, knowing their customs, and that fine clothes are of no esteem among them, that silk is despised, and gold is a badge of infamy, used to come very modestly clothed; but the Anemolians that lay more remote, and so had little commerce with them, when they understood that they were coarsely clothed, and all in the same manner, they took it for granted that they had none of those fine things among them of which they made no use; and they, being a vain-glorious, rather than a wise people, resolved to set themselves out with so much pomp, that they should look like gods, and so strike the eyes of the poor Utopians with their splendour. Thus, three am-

[128] That this habit of mind may be engendered by education, no man can doubt. But *cui bono?* It would be only transfering the foibles now fixed on gold and jewels to other objects. The difficulty is to teach mankind the true value of the things supplied by nature for their use and ornament, among which the finer metals and the precious stones are evidently to be reckoned. Nothing is gained by substituting iron for gold as the object of inordinate desire. Not to have any desires which may be considered inordinate, is the point to be aimed at.

bassadors made their entry with an hundred attendants that were all clad in garments of different colours, and the greater part in silk; the ambassadors themselves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in cloth of gold, and adorned with massy chains, ear-rings, and rings of gold;[129] their caps were covered with bracelets set full of pearls and other gems. In a word, they were set out with all those things that, among the Utopians, were either the badges of slavery, the marks of infamy, or children's rattles. It was not unpleasant to see, on the one side, how they looked big, when they compared their rich habits with the plain clothes of the Utopians, who were come out in great numbers to see them make their entry. And, on the other side, to observe how much they were mistaken in the impression which they hoped this pomp would have made on them; it appeared so ridiculous a show to all that had never stirred out of their country, and so had not seen the customs of other nations; that, though they paid some reverence to those that were the most meanly clad,

[129] A display not much unlike this took place at Washington, on the installation of the President Van Buren, where the Senators of the Great Republic made their appearance in the plainest dresses, and in a taste almost puritanical; while the European ambassadors, laden with jewels, feathers, and frippery, excited the laughter and contempt of the Americans. If Mr. Cooper had the ordering of these matters, they might be managed somewhat differently. He has, during his residence in Europe, discovered the profound wisdom of etiquette, and titles, and so on; and may possibly enlighten his countrymen on these points. But, meanwhile, the contrast between them and the people of the Old Continent is just such as Sir Thomas More describes in this passage.

as if they had been the ambassadors, yet when they saw the ambassadors themselves, so full of gold chains, they looked upon them as slaves, and made them no reverence at all. You might have seen their children, who were grown up to that bigness that they had thrown away their jewels, call to their mothers, and push them gently, and cry out, 'See that great fool that wears pearls and gems, as if he were yet a child!' And their mothers answered them in good earnest, 'Hold your peace! this is, I believe, one of the ambassador's fools!' Others censured the fashion of their chains, and observed that they were of no use, for they were too slight to bind their slaves, who could easily break them; and they saw them hang so loose about them, that they reckoned they could easily throw them away, and so get from them. But, after the ambassadors had staid a day among them, and saw so vast a quantity of gold in their houses, which was as much despised by them as it was esteemed in other nations, and that there was more gold and silver in the chains and fetters of one slave than all their ornaments amounted to, their plumes fell, and they were ashamed of all that glory for which they had formerly valued themselves, and so laid it aside: to which they were the more determined when, upon their engaging into some free discourse with the Utopians, they discovered their sense of such things, and their other customs.

"The Utopians wonder how any man should be so much taken with the glaring, doubtful lustre

of a jewel or stone, that can look up to a star, or to the sun itself: or how any should value himself because his cloth is made of a finer thread; for, how fine soever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a sheep, and that sheep was a sheep still for all its wearing it. They wonder much to hear that gold, which in itself is so useless a thing, should be everywhere so much esteemed that even man, for whom it was made, and by whom it has its value, should yet be thought of less value than it is; so that a man of lead, who has no more sense than a log of wood, and is as bad as he is foolish, should have many wise and good men serving him, only because he has a great heap of that metal; and if it should so happen that by some accident, or trick of law, which does sometimes produce as great changes as chance itself, all this wealth should pass from the master to the meanest varlet of his whole family, he himself would very soon become one of his servants, as if he were a thing that belonged to his wealth, and so were bound to follow its fortune. But they do much more admire and detest their folly who, when they see a rich man, though they neither owe him anything, nor are in any sort obnoxious to him, yet merely because he is rich, they give him little less than divine honours; even though they know him to be so covetous and base-minded that, notwithstanding all his wealth, he will not part with one farthing of it to them as long as he lives.[130]

[130] This is equal to anything in Juvenal for vigour and

"These and such like notions have that people drunk in, partly from their education, being bred in a country whose customs and constitutions are very opposite to all such foolish maxims; and partly from their learning and studies. For, though there are but few in any town that are excused from labour so that they may give themselves wholly to their studies, these being only such persons as discover from their childhood an extraordinary capacity and disposition for letters, yet their children and a great part of the nation, both men and women, are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work in reading; and this they do their whole life long.

"They have all their learning in their own tongue; which is both a copious and pleasant language, and in which a man can fully express his mind: it runs over a great tract of many countries, but it is not equally pure in all places; they have never so much as heard of the names of any of those philosophers that are so famous in these parts of the world before we went among them; and yet they had made the same discoveries that the Greeks had done, both in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry. But as they are equal to the ancient philosophers almost in all things, so they far exceed our modern logicians, for they have never yet fallen upon the barbarous niceties that

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contempt of ordinary opinion. The writer was evidently in earnest. There is no affectation in this energetic diatribe against vanity.

our youth are forced to learn in those trifling logical schools that are among us; and they are so far from minding chimeras and fantastical images made in the mind, that none of them could comprehend what we meant when we talked to them of a man in the abstract as common to all men in particular, (so that though we spoke of him as a thing that we could point at with our fingers, yet none of them could perceive him,) and yet distinct from every one, as if he were some monstrous colossus or giant. Yet for all this ignorance of these empty notions, they knew astronomy, and all the motions of the orbs exactly; and they have many instruments, well contrived and divided, by which they do very accurately compute the course and positions of the sun, moon, and stars. But for the cheat of divining by the stars, and by their oppositions or conjunctions, it has not so much as entered into their thoughts.[131] They have a particular sagacity,

[131] All strong minds have spurned astrology as, what Sir Thomas More here calls it, "a cheat." But I nowhere remember to have found this contempt more ably expressed than in a short poem called, "An Honest Man's Fortune," prefixed, with many other pieces, to the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. It is conceived in a strain of high invective, and contains very noble and proud sentiments, delivered in befitting language. The folly of these obsolete babblers had, it seems, provoked the anger of the poet; and his satire, though less witty than Butler's, is, if possible, still more cutting and effectual:

> "Tell me, by all your arts I conjure ye,
> Yes, and by truth, what shall become of me?
> Find out my star, if each one, as you say,
> Have his peculiar angel and his way;
> Observe my fate, next fall into your dreams,
> Sweep clean your houses, and new-line your schemes,
> Then say your worst!" &c. &c.

founded on much observation, of judging of the weather, by which they know when they may look for rain, wind, or other alterations in the air. But as to the philosophy of those things, and the causes of the saltness of the sea, and of its ebbing and flowing, and of the origin and nature both of the heavens and the earth, they dispute of them, partly as our ancient philosophers have done, and partly upon some new hypothesis, in which, as they differ from them, so they do not in all things agree among themselves.

"As for moral philosophy, they have the same disputes among them that we have here: they examine what things are properly good, both for the body and the mind; and whether any outward thing can be calculated truly good, or if that term belongs only to the endowments of the mind. They inquire likewise into the nature of virtue and pleasure; but their chief dispute is concerning the happiness of a man, and wherein it consists, whether in some one thing, or in a great many? They seem indeed more inclinable to that opinion that places, if not the whole, yet the chief part of a man's happiness in pleasure;[132] and which may seem more strange, they make use of arguments even from religion, notwithstanding its

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[132] This adjunct of the atomic philosophy, properly understood, is worthy of the Academy. Sir Thomas More spoke advisedly when he uttered this; and so far agrees with Hobbes, who says, "Every man, for his own part, calleth that which pleaseth, and is delightful to himself, *good;* and *evil* that which displeaseth him." *Treatise on Human Nature*, c. vii. p. 46.

severity and roughness, for the support of that opinion that is so indulgent to pleasure; for they never dispute concerning happiness without fetching some arguments from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reason, since without the former, they reckon that all our enquiries after happiness must be but conjectural and defective.

"Those principles of their religion are, that the soul of man is immortal, and that God of his goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that he has therefore appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions, and punishments for vice, to be distributed after this life. And though these principles of religion are conveyed down among them by tradition, they think that even reason itself determines a man to believe and acknowledge them: and they freely confess, that if these were taken away, no man would be so insensible, as not to seek after pleasure by all manner of ways, lawful or unlawful; using only this caution, that a lesser pleasure might not stand in the way of a greater, and that no pleasure ought to be pursued that should draw a great deal of pain after it; for they think it the maddest thing in the world to pursue virtue, that is a sour and difficult thing:[133] and not only to renounce the pleasures of life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble, if a man has no prospect of a reward. And what reward can there be for one that has

[133] I apprehend some mistake here. Sir Thomas appears to have had his eye on *monkery*, not on virtue, when this escaped

passed his whole life, not only without pleasure, but in pain, if there is nothing to be expected after death? Yet they do not place happiness in all sorts of pleasures, but only in those that in themselves are good and honest: for whereas there is a party among them that places happiness in bare virtue, others think that our natures are conducted by virtue to happiness, as that which is the chief good of man. They define virtue thus, that it is a living according to nature,[134] and think that we are made by God for that end. They do believe that a man does then follow the dictates of nature, when he pursues or avoids things according to the direction of reason: they say, that the first dictate of reason is, the kindling in us a love and reverence for the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe both all that we have, and all that we can ever hope for.

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from him; for, of virtue, which is truly such, we may affirm, as Milton does of the fountain from which it springs:—

> "How charming is divine philosophy!
> Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute,
> And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,
> Where no crude surfeit reigns."

[134] This is the famous rule of the Stoics, of which the reader will find the most complete account in Lipsius's "Manuductio ad Stoicorum Philosophiam." l. II. Diss. xiv. p. 774. ff. Seneca, who has written finer things than one gives him credit for, observes, that "Idem est beate vivere, et secundum naturam." The only difficulty appears to be to determine what it is to live according to nature; for I imagine that every man will be sure to conceive that nature sanctions whatever he thinks right. Accordingly, there is some danger lest men should adopt the decision of Protagoras, and imagine themselves the only standard of what is right and proper; that is, decide in all things for themselves, and believe that everything is good which seems so to them. Vide *Geel. Hist. Sophist.* p. 86—109.

In the next place, reason directs us to keep our minds as free of passion, and as cheerful as we can; and that we should consider ourselves as bound by the ties of good nature and humanity, to use our utmost endeavours to help forward the happiness of all other persons; for there was never any man that was such a morose and severe pursuer of virtue, and such an enemy to pleasure, that though he set hard rules to men to undergo much pain, many watchings, and other rigours, yet did not at the same time advise them to do all they could in order to the relieving and easing such people as were miserable; and did not represent it as a mark of a laudable temper, that it was gentle and good natured: and they infer from thence, that if a man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of the rest of mankind, there being no virtue more proper and peculiar to our nature, than to ease the miseries of others, to free them from trouble and anxiety in furnishing them with the comforts of life, that consist in pleasure; nature does much more vigorously lead him to do all this for himself. A life of pleasure is either a real evil, and in that case we ought not only not to assist others in their pursuit of it, but on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is hurtful and deadly to them; or if it is a good thing, so that we not only may, but ought to help others to it, why then ought not a man to begin with himself? Since no man can be more bound to look after the good of another, than after his own; for nature cannot direct us to

be good and kind to others, and yet at the same time to be unmerciful and cruel to ourselves. Thus as they define virtue to be a living according to nature, so they reckon that nature sets all people on to seek after pleasure, as the end of all they do.

"They do also observe, that in order to the supporting the pleasures of life, nature inclines us to enter into society; for there is no man so much raised above the rest of mankind, that he should be the only favourite of nature, which on the contrary seems to have levelled all those together that belong to the same species. Upon this they infer that no man ought to seek his own conveniences so eagerly, that thereby he should prejudice others; and therefore they think that not only all agreements between private persons ought to be observed, [135] but likewise that all those laws ought to be kept, which either a good prince has published in due form, or to which a people, that is neither oppressed with tyranny nor circumvented by fraud, has consented, for distributing those conveniences of life which afford us all our pleasures.

"They think it is an evidence of true wisdom for a man to pursue his own advantages, as far as the laws allow it. They account it piety to prefer the public good to one's private concerns; but they think it unjust for a man to seek for his own pleasure, by snatching another man's pleasures

[135] "Cum omni homine, vel servanda est fides, vel non paciscendum; hoc est, vel declaratum bellum, vel certa et fida habenda est pax." *Hobbes, De Cive.* I. iii. p. 36.

from him. And on the contrary, they think it a sign of a gentle and good soul, for a man to dispense with his own advantage for the good of others; and that by so doing, a good man finds as much pleasure one way as he parts with another; for as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, so if that should fail him, yet the sense of a good action, and the reflections that one makes on the love and gratitude of those whom he has so obliged, give the mind more pleasure than the body could have found in that from which it had restrained itself. They are also persuaded that God will make up the loss of those small pleasures with a vast and endless joy, of which religion does easily convince a good soul.

"Thus upon an inquiry into the whole matter, they reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues, terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness: and they call every motion or state, either of body or mind, in which nature teaches us to delight, a pleasure. And thus they cautiously limit pleasure, only to those appetites to which nature leads us; for they reckon that nature leads us only to those delights to which reason as well as sense carries us, and by which we neither injure any other person, nor let go greater pleasures for it, and which do not draw troubles on us after them: but they look upon those delights which men, by a foolish, though common mistake, call pleasure, as if they could change the nature of things as well as the use of words, as things that not only do not advance our happiness, but do

rather obstruct it very much, because they do so entirely possess the minds of those that once go into them with a false notion of pleasure, that there is no room left for truer and purer pleasures.

"There are many things that in themselves have nothing that it is truly delighting: on the contrary, they have a good deal of bitterness in them; and yet by our perverse appetites after forbidden objects, are not only ranked among the pleasures, but are made even the greatest designs of life. Among those who pursue these sophisticated pleasures, they reckon those whom I mentioned before, who think themselves really the better for having fine clothes;[136] in which they think they

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[136] This idea has been very ingeniously expanded in verse by Mr. Horace Smith, who probably, however, borrowed nothing from Sir Thomas More, and may never have seen the "Utopia."

"Since mortals are all, both great and small,
Created by their dresses,
And folks will scan the worth of a man
By that which he possesses,—
If they wish to draw respect and awe
From ignorant beholders,
The rich must wear their virtues rare
Upon their backs and shoulders;
Yet the eye that probes through stars and robes,
Wigs, velvet, silk, and ermine,
May feel a doubt, whether inside or out
Our homage should determine;
For the judge's nob may its wisdom rob
From the tail of a four-legg'd mother,
And the grandeur's germ of the human worm
May spring from his silken brother.
Plumes! pearls! that gem Beauty's diadem!
Unguents! that perfume give it!
Your pomp and grace is the refuse base
Of the ostrich, oyster, and civet!
Even mighty kings—those helpless things
Whose badge is the royal ermine—
Their glory's pride must steal from the hide
Of the meanest spotted vermin.

are doubly mistaken, both in the opinion that they have of their clothes, and in the opinion that they have of themselves; for if you consider the use of clothes, why should a fine thread be thought better than a coarse one? And yet that sort of men, as if they had some real advantages beyond others, and did not owe it wholly to their mistakes, look big, and seem to fancy themselves to be the more valuable on that account, and imagine that a respect is due to them for the sake of a rich garment, to which they would not have pretended, if they had been more meanly clothed; and they resent it as an affront if that respect is not paid them. It is also a great folly to be taken with these outward marks of respect which signify nothing; for what true or real pleasure can one find in this, that another man stands bare, or makes legs to him? Will the bending another man's thighs give you any ease? And will his head's being bare cure the madness of yours? And yet it is wonderful to see how this false notion of pleasure bewitches many who delight themselves with the fancy of their nobility, and are pleased with this conceit, that they are descended from ancestors who have been held for some successions rich, and that they have had great possessions; for this is all that

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Since the lords of the earth, to borrow the worth
And splendour their vanity wishes,
Must their littleness deck in the gaudy wreck
Of birds, and beasts, and fishes;
Since kings confide in a reptile's hide
To make their greatness greater,
What can sages cry, as the pageant they eye,
But, Alack! poor human nature!

makes nobility at present. Yet they do not think themselves a whit the less noble, though their immediate parents have left none of this wealth to them; or though they themselves have squandered it all away.

"The Utopians have no better opinion of those who are much taken with gems and precious stones, and who account it a degree of happiness next to a divine one if they can purchase one that is very extraordinary; especially if it be of that sort of stones that is then in greatest request: for the same sort is not at all times of the same value with all sorts of people; nor will men buy it unless it be dismounted and taken out of the gold; and then the jeweller is made to give good security, and required solemnly to swear that the stone is true, that by such an exact caution a false one may not be bought instead of a true. Whereas, if you were to examine it, your eye could find no difference between that which is counterfeit and that which is true; so that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind. And can it be thought that they who heap up an useless mass of wealth, not for any use that it is to bring them, but merely to please themselves with the contemplation of it, enjoy any true pleasure in it? The delight they find is only a false shadow of joy. Those are no better whose error is somewhat different from the former, and who hide it out of their fear of losing it; for what other name can fit the hiding it in the earth, or rather the restoring it to it again, it being thus cut off from being useful either to its owner

or to the rest of mankind? And yet the owner, having hid it carefully is glad, because he thinks he is now sure of it. And in case one should come to steal it, the owner, though he might live perhaps ten years after that, would all that while after the theft, of which he knew nothing, find no difference between his having it or losing it, for both ways it was equally useless to him.

"Among those foolish pursuers of pleasure they reckon all those that delight in hunting, or birding, or gaming; of whose madness they have only heard, for they have no such things among them. But they have asked us, what sort of pleasure it is that men can find in throwing the dice? For, if there were any pleasure in it, they think the doing it so often should give one a surfeit of it. And what pleasure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of dogs,[137] which seem rather odious

[137] In this Sir Thomas More's notions agree with those of most philosophers who can lay claim to any depth or originality. Xenophon, indeed, was a sportsman who loved the "barking and howling of dogs;" but he was also, as Mr. Keightley, ("History of Greece, p. 290,) very properly remarks, a "bad citizen," who favoured the enemies of his country. From cruelly hunting down inferior animals the step is short and easy to the hunting down of men; and Xenophon's patrons, the Lacedæmonians, had annually a grand hunt of this kind, during which the agricultural peasantry were pursued and massacred like wild beasts. Müller, indeed, who has taken all nations of the Doric name under his protection, pretends to question the correctness of the historians on whose testimony this fact is believed; but in Germany it is fashionable to question everything that cannot be refuted, or made to support the theory of the day. If facts will not bend they must be dismissed, and have their existence denied.

than pleasant sounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleasure of seeing dogs run after a hare, more than of seeing one dog run after another; for you have the same entertainment to the eye on both these occasions, if the seeing them run is that which gives the pleasure, since that is the same in both cases; but if the pleasure lies in seeing the hare killed and torn by the dogs, this ought rather to stir pity, when a weak, harmless, and fearful hare is devoured by a strong, fierce, and cruel dog. Therefore all this business of hunting is, among the Utopians, turned over to their butchers;[138] and those are all slaves, as was formerly said; and they look on hunting as one of the basest parts of a butcher's work; for they account it both more profitable and more decent to kill those beasts that are more necessary and useful to mankind; whereas the killing and tearing of so small and miserable an animal, which a huntsman proposes to himself, can only attract him with the false show of pleasure; for it is of so little use to him. They look on the desire of the bloodshed even of beasts as a mark of a mind that is already corrupted with cruelty, or that at least by the frequent returns of so brutal a pleasure must degenerate into it.

"Thus though the rabble of mankind look upon these, and all other things of this kind, which are indeed innumerable, as pleasures, the Utopians on the contrary observing, that there is nothing in

[138] So it is with us. We have our butchers, and our gentlemen butchers: the latter for killing game.

the nature of them that is truly pleasant, conclude that they are not to be reckoned among pleasures; for though these things may create some tickling in the senses, (which seems to be a true notion of pleasure,) yet they reckon that this does not arise from the thing itself, but from a depraved custom, which may so vitiate a man's taste, that bitter things may pass for sweet;[139] as women with child think pitch or tallow tastes sweeter than honey: but as a man's sense when corrupted, either by a disease or some ill habit, does not change the nature of other things, so neither can it change the nature of pleasure.

"They reckon up several sorts of these pleasures, which they call true ones: some belong to the body, and others to the mind. The pleasures of the mind lie in knowledge, and in that delight which the contemplation of truth carries with it; to which they add the joyful reflections on a well-spent life, and the assured hopes of a future happiness. They divide the pleasures of the body into two sorts; the one is that which gives our senses some real delight, and is performed either by the recruiting of nature, and supplying those parts on which the internal heat of life feeds, and that is done by eating or drinking; or when nature

[139] Payne Knight has made several very good remarks on this subject. He controverts, indeed, the notion of Sir Thomas More, that in the perversion of taste "bitter things may pass for sweet;" but observes, that "all those tastes which are natural lose, and all those which are unnatural acquire strength by indulgence." See his "Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste." Part I. ch. i. § 10.

is eased of any surcharge that oppresses it, as when we empty our guts, beget children, or free any of the parts of our body from aches or heats by friction. There is another kind of this sort of pleasure, that neither gives us anything that our bodies require, nor frees us from anything with which we are overcharged; and yet it excites our senses by a secret unseen virtue, and by a generous impression, it so tickles and affects them, that it turns them inwardly upon themselves, and this is the pleasure begot by music. Another sort of bodily pleasure is that which consists in a quiet and good constitution of body, by which there is an entire healthiness spread over all the parts of the body, not allayed with any disease. This, when it is free from all mixture of pain, gives an inward pleasure of itself, even though it should not be excited by any external and delighting object; and although this pleasure does not so vigorously affect the sense, nor act so strongly upon it, yet as it is the greatest of all pleasures, so almost all the Utopians reckon it the foundation and basis of all the other joys of life, since this alone makes one's state of life to be easy and desirable; and when this is wanting, a man is really capable of no other pleasure. They look upon indolence and freedom from pain, if it does not rise from a perfect health, to be a state of stupidity rather than of pleasure. There has been a controversy in this matter very narrowly canvassed among them, whether a firm and entire health could be called a pleasure or not? Some have

thought that there was no pleasure, but that which was excited by some sensible motion in the body. But this opinion has been long ago run down among them, so that now they do almost all agree in this, that health is the greatest of all bodily pleasures; and that as there is a pain in sickness, which is as opposite in its nature to pleasure as sickness itself is to health, so they hold that health carries a pleasure along with it: and if any should say, that sickness is not really a pain, but that it only carries a pain along with it, they look upon that as a fetch of subtility that does not much alter the matter. So they think it is all one, whether it be said that health is in itself a pleasure, or that it begets a pleasure, as fire gives heat; so it be granted, that all those whose health is entire, have a true pleasure in it: and they reason thus—what is the pleasure of eating, but that a man's health which had been weakened, does with the assistance of food, drive away hunger, and so recruiting itself, recovers its former vigour? And being thus refreshed, it finds a pleasure in that conflict: and if the conflict is pleasure, the victory must yet breed a greater pleasure, except we will fancy that it becomes stupid as soon as it has obtained that which it pursued, and so does neither know nor rejoice in its own welfare. If it is said, that health cannot be felt, they absolutely deny that; for what man is in health, that does not perceive it when he is awake? Is there any man that is so dull and stupid, as not to acknowledge that he feels a de-

light in health ?[140] And what is delight, but another name for pleasure ?

"But of all pleasures, they esteem those to be the most valuable that lie in the mind; and the chief of these are those that arise out of true virtue, and the witness of a good conscience. They account health the chief pleasure that belongs to the body, for they think that the pleasure of eating and drinking, and all the other delights of the body are only so far desirable, as they give or maintain health. But they are not pleasant in themselves otherwise than as they resist those impressions that our natural infirmity is still making upon us: and as a wise man desires rather to avoid diseases than to take physic, and to be freed from pain rather than to find ease by remedies, so it were a more desirable state not to need this sort of pleasure, than to be obliged to indulge it. And if any man imagines that there is a real happiness in this pleasure, he must then confess that he would be the happiest of all men, if he were to lead his life in a perpetual hunger, thirst, and itching, and by consequence in perpetual eating, drinking, and scratching himself,[141] which any

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[140] To give this sensible delight, the health must be extremely robust. I used to experience it with peculiar force in the Libyan desert, about break of day, when the sun new risen, a fresh breeze fanning the cheek, a perceptible buoyancy in the atmosphere, united with genial warmth, seemed to produce upon the frame an effect something like that of thrilling music. This is evidently what the Chancellor means.

[141] These arguments are borrowed from Plato, by whom, in the Gorgias, if I remember rightly, they are arrayed in all their

one may easily see would be not only a base but a miserable state of life. These are indeed the lowest of pleasures, and the least pure; for we can never relish them, but when they are mixed with the contrary pains. The pain of hunger must give us the pleasure of eating, and here the pain out-ballances the pleasure: and as the pain is more vehement, so it lasts much longer; for as it is upon us before the pleasure comes, so it does not cease, but with the pleasure that extinguishes it, and that goes off with it; so that they think none of those pleasures are to be valued, but as they are necessary. Yet they rejoice in them, and with due gratitude acknowledge the tenderness of the great Author of nature, who has planted in us appetites, by which those things that are necessary for our preservation are likewise made pleasant to us. For how miserable a thing would life be, if those daily diseases of hunger and thirst were to be carried off by such bitter drugs, as we must use for those diseases that return seldomer upon us? And thus these pleasant, as well as proper gifts of nature, do maintain the strength and the sprightliness of our bodies.

"They do also entertain themselves with the other delights that they let in at their eyes, their

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force and beauty, in opposition to the trio of Sophists who opposed Socrates in his developement of the science of happiness. It is one of the beauties of the Utopia, that it adopts and modernizes the thoughts of the greatest men of antiquity, whose "old familiar faces" one meets beaming upon one almost in every page.

ears, and their nostrils, as the pleasant relishes and seasonings of life, which nature seems to have marked out peculiarly for man; since no other sort of animal contemplates the figure and beauty of the universe, nor is delighted with smells, but as they distinguish meats by them, nor do they apprehend the concords or discords of sounds; yet in all pleasures whatsoever, they observe this temper, that a lesser joy may not hinder a greater, and that pleasure may never breed pain, which they think does always follow dishonest pleasures. But they think it a madness for a man to wear out the beauty of his face, or the force of his natural strength, and to corrupt the sprightliness of his body by sloth and laziness, or to waste his body by fasting, and so to weaken the strength of his constitution, and reject the other delights of life;[142] unless by renouncing his own satisfaction, he can either serve the public, or promote the happiness of others, from which he expects a greater recompense from God. So that they look on such a course of life as a mark of a mind, that is both cruel to itself, and ungrateful to the Author of nature, as if we would not be beholden to him for his favours, and therefore would reject all his blessings, and should afflict himself for the empty

[142] The author, we see, was no friend to the penances of monkery; but thought, like Milton, that "in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth." *Tractate on Education*, § 22. *Select Prose Works*, 1. 164.

shadow of virtue; or for no better end than to render himself capable to bear those misfortunes which possibly will never happen.

"This is their notion of virtue and pleasure; they think that no man's reason can carry him to a truer idea of them, unless some discovery from heaven should inspire one with sublimer notions. I have not now the leisure to examine all this, whether they think right or wrong in this matter; nor do I judge it necessary, for I have only undertaken to give you an account of their constitution, but not to defend everything that is among them. I am sure, that whatsoever may be said of their notions, there is not in the whole world, either a better people, or a happier government. Their bodies are vigorous and lively; and though they are but of a middle stature, and though they have neither the fruitfullest soil, nor the purest air in the world, yet they do so fortify themselves by their temperate course of life against the unhealthiness of their air, and by their industry they do so cultivate their soil, that there is nowhere to be seen a greater increase, both of corn and cattle: nor are there any where healthier men to be found, and freer from diseases than among them; for one may see there, not only such things put in practice, that husbandmen do commonly for manuring and improving an ill soil, but in some places a whole wood is plucked up by the roots, as well as whole ones planted in other places, where there were formerly none. In doing of this, the chief consider-

ation they have is of carriage, that their timber may be either near their towns, or lie upon the sea, or some river, so that it may be floated to them; for it is a harder work to carry wood at any distance over land, than corn. The people are industrious, apt to learn, as well as cheerful and pleasant; and none can endure more labour, when it is necessary, than they; but, except in that case, they love their ease.

"They are unwearied pursuers of knowledge; for when we had given them some hints of the learning and discipline of the Greeks, concerning whom we only instructed them, (for we know that there was nothing among the Romans, except their historians and their poets, that they value much,) it was strange to see how eagerly they were set on learning that language. We began to read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity, than out of any hopes of their profiting much by it; but after a short trial, we found they made such a progress in it, that we saw our labour was like to be more successful than we could have expected. They learned to write their characters, and to pronounce their language so right, and took up all so quick, they remembered it so faithfully, and became so ready and correct in the use of it, that it would have looked like a miracle, if the greater part of those whom we taught had not been men, both of extraordinary capacity, and of a fit age for it. They were for the greatest part chosen out among their learned men, by their chief coun-

cil, though some learned it of their own accord. In three years' time they became masters of the whole language, so that they read the best of the Greek authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think, that they learned that language the more easily, because it seems to be of kin to their own. I believe that they were a colony of the Greeks; for though their language comes nearer the Persian, yet they retain many names, both for their towns and magistrates, that are of Greek origination. I had happened to carry a great many books with me, instead of merchandise, when I sailed my fourth voyage; for I was so far from thinking of coming back soon, that I rather thought never to have returned at all, and I gave them all my books, among which many of Plato's and some of Aristotle's works were. I had also Theophrastus on plants, which to my great regret, was imperfect; for having laid it carelessly by while we were at sea, a monkey had fallen upon it, and had torn out leaves in many places. They have no books of grammar, but Lascares, for I did not carry Theodorus with me; nor have they any dictionaries but Hesychius and Dioscorides. They esteem Plutarch highly, and were much taken with Lucian's wit, and with his pleasant way of writing. As for the poets, they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles of Aldus's edition; and for historians, they have Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian. One of my companions, Thricius Apinatus, happened to carry with him some of Hippocrates's works, and Galen's Microtechne, which

they hold in great estimation;[143] for though there is no nation in the world that needs physic so little as they do, yet there is not any that honours it so much. They reckon the knowledge of it to be one of the pleasantest and profitablest parts of philosophy, by which, as they search into the secrets of nature, so they not only find marvellous pleasure in it, but think that in making such inquiries they do a most acceptable thing to the Author of nature; and imagine that he, as all inventors of curious engines, has exposed to our view this great machine of the universe, we being the only creatures capable of contemplating it: and that therefore an exact and curious observer and admirer of his workmanship, is much more acceptable to him than one of the herd; who as if he were a beast, and not capable of reason, looks on all this glorious scene only as a dull and unconcerned spectator.[144]

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[143] This is one of the lamest parts of the whole work, considered with a view to probability. What! render such a list of foreign authors, in a new language, popular in so few years! I admire Sir Thomas's taste in authors, and agree with him in his estimate of them; but cannot otherwise than smile when I find them domiciliated so rapidly among the Utopians.

[144] Cicero, De Naturâ Deorum, II. §. 37, 38, has translated a passage on this subject from Aristotle, so brilliant, so richly glowing with masculine eloquence, that it would rather appear to have proceeded from Plato's own mouth. I fear to attempt it in English. Nevertheless, as the reader might not choose to be at the trouble of construing the original, I shall endeavour to give the sense. "Aristotle admirably describes the wonder which would seize upon men, supposing them to have lived up to a certain age under-ground, and to be then brought suddenly into the light. Allowing them to have inhabited subterranean palaces, adorned with sculpture and painting, and every ornament

"The minds of the Utopians, when they are once excited by learning, are very ingenious in finding out all such arts as tend to the conveniences of life. Two things they owe to us, which are the art of printing, and the manufacture of paper: yet they do not owe these so entirely to us, but that a great part of the invention was their own; for after we had showed them some paper books of Aldus's impression, and began to explain to them the way of making paper, and of printing, though we spake but very crudely of both these, not being practised in either of them, they presently took up the whole matter from the hints that we gave them; and whereas before they only writ on parchment, or on the barks of trees or reeds, they have now set up the manufacture of paper, and printing-presses; and though at first they could not arrive at a perfection in them, yet by making many essays, they at last found out and corrected all their errors, and brought the whole thing to perfection; so that if they had but a good number of Greek authors, they would be quickly supplied with many copies of them; at present, though they

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procurable by wealth; admit that they might have heard of the power and majesty of the gods; yet how great would be their emotion should the earth open suddenly, and disclose to them the vast scene we daily witness! the land—the sea—the sky—the prodigious volumes of the clouds—the power of the winds—the sun, its magnitude, its splendour, gilding the whole earth, filling the whole heaven! And then, the spectacle presented by the face of night! The whole firmament glittering with stars, the increasing or waning moon.—Seeing all these things, could they doubt that there are gods, or that these are their works?"

have no more than those I have mentioned, yet by several impressions, they have multiplied them into many thousands.

"If any man should go among them that had some extraordinary talent, or that by much travelling had observed the customs of many nations, (which made us to be well received,) he would be very welcome to them; for they are very desirous to know the state of the whole world. Very few go among them on the account of traffic; for what can a man carry to them but iron, or gold or silver, which merchants desire rather to export than import to any strange country; and as for their exportation, they think it better to manage that themselves, than to let foreigners come and deal in it; for by this means, as they understand the state of the neighbouring countries better, so they keep up the art of navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practice in it.

OF THEIR SLAVES, AND OF THEIR MARRIAGES.

"They do not make slaves of prisoners of war, except those that are taken fighting against them; nor of the sons of their slaves, nor of the slaves of other nations. The slaves among them are only such as are condemned to that state of life for some crime that they had committed, or, which is more common, such as their merchants find condemned to die in those parts to which they trade, whom they redeem sometimes at low rates; and in other places they have them for nothing, and so they

fetch them away. All their slaves are kept at perpetual labour, and are always chained, but with this difference, that they treat their own natives much worse, looking on them as a more profligate sort of people; who not being restrained from crimes by the advantages of so excellent an education, are judged worthy of harder usage than others. Another sort of slaves is when some of the poorer sort in the neighbouring countries, offer of their own accord to come and serve them; they treat these better, and use them in all other respects as well as their own countrymen, except that they impose more labour upon them, which is no hard task to them that have been accustomed to it; and if any of these have a mind to go back to their own country, which indeed falls out but seldom, as they do not force them to stay, so they do not send them away empty-handed.

"I have already told you with what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their ease or health: and for those who are taken with fixed and incurable diseases, they use all possible ways to cherish them, and make their lives as comfortable as may be: they visit them often, and take great pains to make their time pass off easily. But when any is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, so that there is no hope, either of recovery or ease, the priests and magistrates come and exhort them, that since they are now unable to go on with the business of life, and are become a burden to themselves and to all about them, so that they have

really outlived themselves, they would no longer nourish such a rooted distemper, but would choose rather to die, since they cannot live, but in much misery; being assured, that if they either deliver themselves from their prison and torture, or are willing that others should do it, they shall be happy after their deaths: and since by their dying thus, they lose none of the pleasures, but only the troubles of life, they think they act not only reasonably in so doing, but religiously and piously, because they follow the advices that are given them by the priests, who are the expounders of the will of God to them. Such as are wrought on by these persuasions, do either starve themselves of their own accord, or they take opium,[145] and so they die without pain. But no man is forced on this way of ending his life; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, they do not for that fail in their attendance and care of them. But as they believe that a voluntary death, when it is chosen upon such an authority, is very honourable, so if any man takes away his own life, without the approbation of the priests and the senate, they give him none of the

[145] This is one of those maxims of a "rough and fierce philosophy," which Bishop Burnet speaks of in his preface. It differs in one particular from Napoleon's "philosophy," which led him, from motives of mistaken humanity, to think of poisoning the sick in Syria, to prevent their falling into the hands of a savage enemy. The Utopians only starved or poisoned those who consented to be so treated; which, Mr. Hobbes assures us, could be doing them no injury; for he who consents to anything, cannot consider himself injured. *De Cive.* l. I. c. iii. § 7.

honours of a decent funeral, but throw his body into some ditch.

Their women are not married before eighteen, nor their men before two-and-twenty; and if any of them run into forbidden embraces before their marriage, they are severely punished, and the privilege of marriage is denied them, unless there is a special warrant obtained for it afterwards from the prince. Such disorders cast a great reproach upon the master and mistress of the family in which they fall out; for it is supposed they have been wanting to their duty. The reason of punishing this so severely is, because they think that if they were not strictly restrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in a married state, in which men venture the quiet of their whole life, being restricted to one person; besides many other inconveniences that do accompany it. In the way of choosing of their wives, they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but is constantly observed among them, and accounted a wise and good rule. Before marriage, some grave matron presents the bride naked,[146] whether she is a virgin or a widow, to the

[146] The Spartans exposed their young women thus habitually, and partly for the same reason, partly for the purpose of correcting the phlegmatic temperament of the Dorians. Sir Thomas More has reasons, no doubt, on his side; but tastes differ, at different times; and in modern Europe, though many women of fashion would not object to the trial, as is clear from their style of dressing, it might be found rather inimical than otherwise to marriage. In the East, according to Lady Montague, the ladies could bear the scrutiny—so beautiful are their figures.

bridegroom; and after that, some grave man presents the bridegroom naked to the bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned it as a very indecent thing. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations, who if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious, that they will see every part of him, and take off both his saddle, and all his other tackle, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them; and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about a hand-breadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered, under which there may lie hid that which may be contagious, as well as loathesome. All men are not so wise, that they choose a woman only for her good qualities; and even wise men consider the body as that which adds not a little to the mind. And it is certain, there may be some such deformity covered with one's clothes, as may totally alienate a man from his wife when it is too late to part with her; for if such a thing is discovered after marriage, a man has no remedy but patience: so they think it is reasonable, that there should be a good provision made against such mischievous frauds.

"There was so much the more reason in making a regulation in this matter, because they are the only people of those parts that do neither allow of polygamy, nor of divorces, except in the case of adultery, or insufferable perverseness: for in these cases the senate dissolves the marriage, and grants

the injured person leave to marry again; but the guilty are made infamous, and are never allowed the privilege of a second marriage. None are suffered to put away their wives against their wills, because of any great calamity that may have fallen on their person; for they look on it as the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married persons, when they need most the tender care of their consort; and that chiefly in the case of old age, which as it carries many diseases along with it, so it is a disease of itself.[147] But it falls often out, that when a married couple do not agree well together, they by mutual consent separate, and find out other persons with whom they hope they may live more happily.[148] Yet this is not done without obtaining leave of the senate, which never admits of a divorce, but upon a strict inquiry made, both by the senators and their wives, into the grounds upon which it proceeds; and even when they are satisfied concerning the reasons of it, they go on but slowly, for they reckon that too great easiness in granting leave for new marriages, would very much shake the kindness of married persons. They punish severely those that defile the marriage bed. If both parties are married, they are divorced, and the injured persons may marry one another, or whom they please; but the adulterer and the adulteress are condemned to slavery. Yet if either of the injured persons cannot shake

[147] A humane law.

[148] He here anticipates Milton's notions, which are those of right reason.

off the love of the married person, they may live with them still in that state, but they must follow them to that labour to which the slaves are condemned; and sometimes the repentance of the condemned person, together with the unshaken kindness of the innocent and injured person, has prevailed so far with the prince, that he has taken off the sentence: but those that relapse after they are once pardoned, are punished with death.

"Their law does not determine the punishment for other crimes; but that is left to the senate, to temper it according to the circumstances of the fact. Husbands have power to correct their wives, and parents to correct their children, unless the fault is so great, that a public punishment is thought necessary for the striking terror into others. For the most part, slavery is the punishment even of the greatest crimes; for as that is no less terrible to the criminals themselves than death, so they think the preserving them in a state of servitude is more for the interest of the commonwealth, than the killing them outright; since as their labour is a greater benefit to the public than their death could be, so the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to other men, than that which would be given by their death. If their slaves rebel, and will not bear their yoke, and submit to the labour that is enjoined them, they are treated as wild beasts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a prison, nor by their chains, and are at last put to death. But those who bear their punishment patiently, and are so much wrought on by that pressure that lies

so hard on them, that it appears that they are really more troubled for the crimes they have committed than for the miseries they suffer, are not out of hope, but that at last either the prince will by his prerogative, or the people will by their intercession restore them again to their liberty, or at least very much mitigate their slavery. He that tempts a married woman to adultery, is no less severely punished than he that commits it;[149] for they reckon that a laid and studied design of committing any crime, is equal to the fact itself; since its not taking effect does not make the person that did all that in him lay in order to it, a whit the less guilty.

"They take great pleasure in fools,[150] and as it is thought a base and unbecoming thing to use them ill, so they do not think it amiss for people to divert themselves with their folly. And they think this is a great advantage to the fools themselves; for if men were so sullen and severe, as not at all to please themselves with their ridiculous behaviour and foolish sayings, which is all that

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[149] We have far better authority for this: "whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

[150] In this we follow closely in the footsteps of the Utopians, for I know of no class of men in whom the world takes so much pleasure as it does in fools. In all places they abound, and are well received. Every one makes a point of being civil to them; for though

"Les fous sont ici bas pour nos menus plaisirs,"

in appearance it is quite otherwise. In fact, being in a majority, they rule the roast, at least in what is called the "great world."

they can do to recommend themselves to others, it could not be expected that they would be so well looked to, nor so tenderly used as they must otherwise be. If any man should reproach another for his being misshaped or imperfect in any part of his body, it would not at all be thought a reflection on the person that was so treated, but it would be accounted a very unworthy thing for him that had upbraided another with that which he could not help. It is thought a sign of a sluggish and sordid mind, not to preserve carefully one's natural beauty, but it is likewise an infamous thing among them to use paint or fard.[151] And they all see that no beauty recommends a wife so much to her husband, as the probity of her life, and her obedience; for as some few are catched and held only by beauty, so all people are held by the other excellencies which charm all the world.

"As they fright men from committing crimes by punishments, so they invite them to the love of virtue by public honours. Therefore they erect statues in honour to the memories of such worthy

[151] On this point we exhibit superior wisdom. We all paint at present, being persuaded that, if it be allowable to curl one's hair and wash one's face, for the purpose of appearing more agreeable to others, the same patriotic motive requires that we should take one step more for their pleasure, and paint our cheeks. our lips, and our foreheads. And, instead of being blamed for this, we are entitled to very high praise; since, were we residing on some desert island, where our ugliness could offend no one, it is very certain we should take little trouble with ourselves. Our design is solely to give delight, by exhibiting a handsome mask to the gaze of persons who might perhaps be terrified at the reality it conceals.

men as have deserved well of their country, and set these in their market-places,[152] both to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions, and to be an incitement to their posterity to follow their example.

"If any man aspires to any office he is sure never to compass it: they live all easily together, for none of the magistrates are either insolent or cruel to the people; but they affect rather to be called fathers, and, by being really so, they well deserve that name; and the people pay them all the marks of honour the more freely because none are exacted of them. The prince himself has no distinction, either of garments or of a crown; but is only known by a sheaf of corn that is carried before him,—as the high-priest is also known by a wax light that is carried before him.

"They have but few laws, and such is their constitution that they need not many. They do very much condemn other nations whose laws, together with the commentaries on them, swell up to so many volumes; for they think it an unreasonable thing to oblige men to obey a body of laws that are both of such a bulk and so dark that they cannot be read or understood by every one of the subjects.[153]

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[152] The statues of the illustrious tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, were set up in the Athenian agora, and near them none others might be erected. At some distance in the square, however, other patriots, as Kimon, for example, had the honour of a statue, and to this Sir Thomas More alludes. When shall we see the statues of Ireton, Cromwell, and Bradshaw, in Covent Garden?

[153] This is a *home* thrust. Our laws are so numerous that, toge-

"They have no lawyers among them, for they consider them as a sort of people whose profession it is to disguise matters as well as to wrest laws; and, therefore, they think it is much better that every man should plead his own cause, and trust it to the judge, as well as in other places the client does it to a counsellor.[154] By this means they both cut off many delays and find out truth more certainly; for, after the parties have laid open the merits of their cause, without those artifices which lawyers are apt to suggest, the judge examines the whole matter, and supports the simplicity of such well-meaning persons whom otherwise crafty men would be sure to run down; and thus they avoid those evils which appear very remarkably among all those nations that labour under a vast load of laws. Every one of them is skilled in their law, for as it is a very short study, so the plainest meaning of which words are capable is always the sense of their laws. And they argue thus: all laws are promulgated for this end, that every man may know his duty;[155] and, therefore, the plainest and

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ther with their commentaries, they would have furnished sufficient solid reading for Adam, if he had lived until now; and the best of it is, that he would probably have been as wise when he concluded as when he began. This is a proud boast which few nations can make; and we may add, that our constitution, like our laws, is unintelligible to all the world.

[154] This, if nothing else, will always recommend the "Utopia" to the thorough detestation of the men in wigs; the more so, as the author himself wore a wig, and ought to have possessed some knowledge of the profession.

[155] This is a grievous mistake; for it would be easy to de-

most obvious sense of the words is that which must be put on them; since a more refined exposition cannot be easily comprehended, and laws become thereby useless to the greater part of mankind who need most the direction of them: for to them it is all one not to make a law at all, and to couch it in such terms that, without a quick apprehension and much study, a man cannot find out the true meaning of it; and the generality of mankind are both so dull and so much employed in their several trades, that they have neither the leisure nor the capacity requisite for such an inquiry.

"Some of their neighbours, who are masters of their own liberties, having long ago, by the assistance of the Utopians, shaken off the yoke of tyranny; and, being much taken with those virtues that they observe among them, have come to them, and desired that they would send magistrates among them to be their governors; some changing them every year, and others every five years. At the end of their government they bring them back to Utopia, with great expressions of honour and esteem, and carry away others to govern in their stead. In this they seem to have fallen upon a very good expedient for their own happiness and safety; for, since the good or ill condition of a

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monstrate that laws are promulgated, at least in England, expressly to preserve men from the knowledge of their duty, in order that they may fall into the numerous gins and traps industriously set for them, and pay all the mulcts and penalties upon which the profession and all its hangers-on thrive and wax fat.

nation depends so much upon their magistrates, they could not have made a better choice than by pitching on men whom no advantages can bias; for wealth is of no use to them, since they must go so soon back to their own country, and they, being strangers among them, are not engaged in any of their heats or animosities; and it is certain that, when public judicatories are swayed either by partial affections or by avarice, there must follow upon it a dissolution of all justice, which is the chief sinew of society.

"The Utopians call those nations that come and ask magistrates from them, *neighbours;* but they call those to whom they have been more particularly assisting, *friends.* And, whereas all other nations are perpetually either making leagues or breaking them, they never enter into any alliance with any other state. They think leagues are useless things, and reckon that, if the common ties of human nature do not knit men together, the faith of promises will have no great effect on them: and they are the more confirmed in this by that which they see among the nations round about them, who are no strict observers of leagues and treaties. We know how religiously they are observed in Europe; more particularly where the Christian doctrine is received, among whom they are sacred and inviolable![156]

[156] I hope Henry the Eighth understood the full force of this panegyric, the best commentary upon which is to be found in the "Dictionnaire Historique et Critique" of Bayle, article AGESILAUS, from which I have already quoted a short passage. Macchiavelli, too, and Guiccardini, furnish numerous examples

Which is partly owing to the justice and goodness of the princes themselves, and partly to the reverence that they pay to the popes; who, as they are most religious observers of their own promises, so they exhort all other princes to perform theirs; and, when fainter methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the severity of the pastoral censure; and think that it would be the most indecent thing possible, if men who are particularly designed by the title of *the Faithful* should not religiously keep the *faith* of their treaties. But in that new-found world, which is not more distant from us in situation than it is disagreeing from us in their manners and course of life, there is no trusting to leagues, even though they were made with all the pomp of the most sacred ceremonies that is possible. On the contrary, they are the sooner broken for that, some slight pretences being found in the words of the treaties, which are contrived in such ambiguous terms, and that on design, that they can never be so strictly bound but they will always find some loop-hole to escape at; and so they break both their leagues and their faith. And this is done with that impudence, that those very men who value themselves on having suggested these advices to their princes, would yet, with a haughty scorn, declaim against such craft, or, to speak plainer, such fraud and deceit, if they

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of the *faith* of Christian princes, who, together with the pope, have probably on the subject of oaths outdone in profligacy all the tyrants of antiquity—which is saying a great deal for them. Sir Thomas's irony is transparent.

found private men make use of it in their bargains; and would readily say that they deserved to be hanged for it.[157]

"By this means it is that all sort of justice passes in the world but for a low-spirited and vulgar virtue, which is far below the dignity of royal greatness. Or, at least, there are two sorts of justice set up. The one is mean, and creeps on the ground; and therefore becomes none but the baser sort of men, and so must be kept in severely by many restraints, that it may not break out beyond the bounds that are set to it. The other is the peculiar virtue of princes, which, as it is more majestic than that which becomes the rabble, so takes a freer compass; and lawful or unlawful are only measured by pleasure and interest.[158] These practices among the princes that lie about Utopia, who make so little account of their faith, seem to be the reasons that determine them to engage in no confederacies; perhaps they would change their mind if they lived among us. But yet, though treaties were more religiously observed, they would still dislike the custom of making them; since the world has taken up a false maxim upon it, as if there were no tie of nature knitting one nation to an-

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[157] This confirms what is said in the last note.

[158] Kallikles, in the Gorgias of Plato, advocates this magnificent virtue, which Sir Thomas More rightly denominates *royal justice;* and which, by the vulgar, is called *injustice.* The name is nothing. Whatever appellation it be known by, it is the distinguishing attribute of princes, and of all those who surround them nearly, and profit most by their example.

other, that are only separated, perhaps, by a mountain or a river, and that all were born in a state of hostility,[159] and so might lawfully do all that mischief to their neighbours, against which there is no provision made by treaties. And that, when treaties are made, they do not cut off the enmity, or restrain the license of preying upon one another, if, by the unskilfulness of wording them, there are not effectual provisos made against them. They, on the other hand, judge that no man is to be esteemed our enemy that has never injured us; and that the partnership of the human nature that is among all men is instead of a league. And that kindness and goodnature unite men more effectually, and more forcibly than any agreements whatsoever; since thereby the engagements of men's hearts become stronger than anything can be to which a few words can bind them.

OF THEIR MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

"They detest war as a very brutal thing; and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practised

[159] As Hobbes contends they were. In fact, this doctrine constitutes the basis of his political philosophy, which is more widely spread, and has more advocates in the world than would readily be believed. It is founded, however, on a narrow view of human nature; as Dr. Adam Ferguson, among others, has shown. In fact, it is man's affections and sympathy which plunge him in hostility; for, "by enlisting him on the side of one tribe or community, they frequently engage him in war and contention with the rest of mankind."—*History of Civil Society*, part I. §. 2. p. 17.

by men than any sort of beasts: and they, against the custom of almost all other nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that glory that is gained by war. And, therefore, though they accustom themselves daily to military exercises, and the discipline of war, in which not only their men but their women[160] likewise are trained up, that so, in cases of necessity, they may not be quite useless. Yet they do not rashly engage in war, unless it be either to defend themselves or their friends from any unjust aggressors; or out of good nature, or in compassion to an oppressed nation, that they assist them to the shaking off the yoke of tyranny. They, indeed, help their friends not only in defensive but also in offensive wars; but they never do that unless they had been consulted with while the matter was yet entire; and that, being satisfied with the grounds on which they went, they had found that all demands of reparation were rejected, so that a war was necessary: which they do not think to be only just when one neighbour makes an inroad on another, by public order, and carries

[160] This is a very absurd crotchet of Plato's, which I am astonished to find adopted by any man who has had the advantage of considering the objections which physiology and common sense have induced later philosophers to urge against it. The practice, if it could be followed up, would do more than anything else conceivable towards extinguishing the human race, and begin by obliterating from among men all that gentleness and suavity by which the best natures are distinguished, and which take their rise from female influence. To unsex women, and make rude soldiers of them, would be to banish from amongst us the well-spring of the highest and kindliest of our feelings.

away their spoils: but when the merchants of one country are oppressed in another, either under the pretence of some unjust laws, or by the perverse wresting of good ones; this they count a juster cause of war than the other, because those injuries are done under some colour of laws. This was the only ground of that war in which they engaged with the Nephelogetes against the Aleopolitanes, a little before our time: for the merchants of the former having, as they thought, met with great injustice among the latter, that, whether it was in itself right or wrong, did draw on a terrible war, many of their neighbours being engaged in it; and their keenness in carrying it on being supported by their strength in maintaining it, it not only shook some very flourishing states and very much afflicted others, but, after a series of much mischief, it ended in the entire conquest and slavery of the Aleopolitanes, who, though before the war they were in all respects much superior to the Nephelogetes, yet by it they fell under their empire. But the Utopians, though they had assisted them in the war, yet pretended to no share of the spoil.

"But, though they assist their friends so vigorously in taking reparations for injuries that are done them in such matters, yet if they themselves should meet with any such fraud, provided there were no violence done to their persons, they would only carry it so far that, unless satisfaction were made, they would give over trading with such a people. This is not done because they consider their neigh-

bours more than their own citizens; but, since their neighbours trade every one upon his own stock, fraud is a more sensible injury to them than it is to the Utopians, among whom the public only suffers in such a case; and, since they expect nothing in return for the merchandise that they export but that in which they abound so much, and is of little use to them, the loss does not much affect them; therefore they think it would be too severe a thing to revenge a loss that brings so little inconvenience with it, either to their life or to their livelihood, with the death of many people. But if any of their people is either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether that be done by public authority or only by private men, as soon as they hear of it they send ambassadors, and demand that the guilty persons may be delivered up to them; and, if that is denied they declare war; but if that is done, they condemn those either to death or slavery.

"They would be both troubled and ashamed of a bloody victory over their enemies; and think it would be as foolish a purchase as to buy the most valuable goods at too high a rate. And in no victory do they glory so much, as in that which is gained by dexterity and good conduct, without bloodshed.[161] They appoint public triumphs in

[161] This was the notion of the *Harami*, or Corporation of Robbers, in Egypt. See the story of Shater Mansoor in the "Tales of the Ramad'han." It prevailed also, to a certain extent, among the Spartans; but in our own day has been utterly discarded by the greatest generals, who, so they obtain the

such cases, and erect trophies to the honour of those who have succeeded well in them; for then do they reckon that a man acts suitably to his nature when he conquers his enemy in such a way that no other creature but a man could be capable of it, and that is by the strength of his understanding. Bears, lions, boars, wolves, and dogs, and other animals employ their bodily force one against another, in which, as many of them are superior to man both in strength and fierceness, so they are all subdued by the reason and understanding that is in him.

"The only design of the Utopians in war, is to obtain that by force which, if it had been granted them in time, would have prevented the war; or, if that cannot be done, to take so severe a revenge of those that have injured them, that they may be terrified from doing the like in all time coming. By these ends they measure all their designs, and manage them so that it is visible that the appetite of fame or vain glory, does not work so much on them as a just care of their own security.

"As soon as they declare war, they take care to have a great many schedules, that are sealed with their common seal, affixed in the most conspicuous places of their enemies' country. This is carried secretly, and done in many places all at once. In those they promise great rewards to such as shall

victory, care not a straw for the expense of human life by which it is purchased. Accordingly, they gain great victories and an immensity of glory, which console them for the quantity of plebeian blood they shed.

kill the prince,[162] and lesser in proportion to such as shall kill any other persons who are those on whom, next to the prince himself, they cast the chief blame of the war. And they double the sum to him that, instead of killing the person so marked out, shall take him alive, and put him in their hands. They offer not only indemnity but rewards to such of the persons themselves that are so marked, if they will act against their countrymen. By this means those that are named in their schedules become not only distrustful of their fellow-citizens, but are jealous of one another, and are much distracted by fear and danger; for it has often fallen out that many of them, and even the prince himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they have trusted most: for the rewards that the Utopians offer are so unmeasurably great that there is no sort of crime to which men cannot be drawn by them. They consider the risk that those run who undertake such services, and offer a recompence proportioned to the danger; not only a vast deal of gold, but great revenues in lands that lie among

[162] Sir Thomas More's mode of making war is certainly the most objectionable that can be conceived. It would put a dagger into every man's hand, and furnish a ready excuse for murders without number. Had the princes been put to death by the enemy, when they had been the originators of an *unjust* war, it had, perhaps, been well. But who would have determined when the war *was* unjust? Their enemies? But, in the opinion of an enemy, every war is so; and most unjust of all, the wars undertaken in defence of freedom. This mode, therefore, of terminating national quarrels is worse than that of the scalping Indians.

other nations that are their friends, where they may go and enjoy them very securely: and they observe the promises they make of this kind most religiously. They do very much approve of this way of corrupting their enemies, though it appears to others to be a base and cruel thing; but they look on it as a wise course, to make an end of that which would be otherwise a great war, without so much as hazarding one battle to decide it. They think it likewise an act of mercy and love to mankind to prevent the great slaughter of those that must otherwise be killed in the progress of the war, both of their own side and of their enemies, by the death of a few that are most guilty; and that in so doing they are kind even to their enemies, and pity them no less than their own people, as knowing that the greater part of them do not engage in the war of their own accord, but are driven into it by the passions of their prince.[163]

"If this method does not succeed with them, then they sow seeds of contention among their enemies, and animate the prince's brother, or some of the nobility, to aspire to the crown. If they cannot disunite them by domestic broils, then they engage their neighbours against them, and make them set on foot some old pretensions, which are never wanting to princes, when they have occasion for

[163] The condition of such nations would be still more to be lamented, if the remedy were not placed by Providence in their own hands. If their princes govern ill, they know what to do. There are other forms of government at their option.

them. And they supply them plentifully with money, though but very sparingly with any auxiliary troops; for they are so tender of their own people that they would not willingly exchange one of them, even with the prince of their enemies' country.

"But as they keep their gold and silver only for such an occasion, so when that offers itself they easily part with it, since it would be no inconvenience to them, though they should reserve nothing of it to themselves. For, besides the wealth that they have among them at home, they have a vast treasure abroad; many nations round about them being deep in their debt. So that they hire soldiers from all places for carrying on their wars; but chiefly from the Zapoletes, who live five hundred miles from Utopia eastward. They are a rude, wild, and fierce nation, who delight in the woods and rocks, among which they were born and bred up. They are hardened both against heat, cold, and labour, and know nothing of the delicacies of life. They do not apply themselves to agriculture, nor do they care either for their houses or their clothes. Cattle is all that they look after; and for the greatest part they live either by their hunting or upon rapine; and are made, as it were, only for war. They watch all opportunities of engaging in it, and very readily embrace such as are offered them. Great numbers of them will often go out, and offer themselves upon a very low pay to serve any that will employ them. They know none of the arts of life, but those that lead

to the taking it away; they serve those that hire them both with much courage and great fidelity; but will not engage to serve for any determined time, and agree upon such terms that the next day they may go over to the enemies of those whom they serve, if they offer them a greater pay: and they will perhaps return to them the day after that, upon a higher advance of their pay.[164] There are few wars in which they make not a considerable part of the armies of both sides: so it falls often out, that they that are of kin to one another, and were hired in the same country, and so have lived long and familiarly together, yet they, forgetting both their relation and former friendship, kill one another upon no other consideration but because they are hired to it for a little money by princes of different interests. And so great regard have they to money, that they are easily wrought on by the difference of one penny a day to change sides. So entirely does their avarice turn them: and yet this money, on which they are so much set, is of little use to them; for what they purchase thus with their blood they quickly waste on luxury, which among them is but a poor and miserable form.

"This nation serves the Utopians against all people whatsoever, for they pay higher than any other. The Utopians hold this for a maxim, that

[164] This picture, which is scarcely exaggerated, was designed for the Swiss, the Arcadians of the modern world, who, by thus trafficking in their own blood, have earned an infamous celebrity.

as they seek out the best sort of men for their own use at home, so they make use of this worse sort of men for the consumption of war; and, therefore, they hire them with the offers of vast rewards to expose themselves to all sorts of hazards, out of which the greater part never returns to claim their promises. Yet they make them good most religiously to such as escape. And this animates them to adventure again when there is occasion for it; for the Utopians are not at all troubled how many of them soever happen to be killed; and reckon it a service done to mankind, if they could be a means to deliver the world from such a lewd and vicious sort of people, that seem to have run together as to the drain of human nature. Next to these, they are served in their wars with those upon whose account they undertake them, and with the auxiliary troops of their other friends, to whom they join some few of their own people, and send some man of eminent and approved virtue to command in chief. There are two sent with him, who during his command are but private men, but the first is to succeed him if he should happen to be either killed or taken; and, in case of the like misfortune to him, the third comes in his place; and thus they provide against ill events, that such accidents as may befal their generals may not endanger their armies. When they draw out troops of their own people, they take such out of every city as freely offer themselves; for none are forced to go against their wills, since they think that if any man is pressed that wants courage, he will not only act

faintly but by his cowardice will dishearten others. But, if any invasion is made of their country, they make use of such men, if they have good bodies, though they are not brave, and either put them aboard their ships, or place them on the walls of their towns, that being so posted, they may not find occasions of flying away; and thus either shame, the heat of action, or the impossibility of flying, bears down their cowardice, and so they make often a virtue of necessity, and behave themselves well, because nothing else is left them. But as they force no man to go into any foreign war against his will, so they do not hinder such women as are willing to go along with their husbands: on the contrary, they encourage and praise them much for doing it; they stand often next to their husbands in the front of the army. They also place those that are related together, and parents, and children, kindred, and those that are mutually allied near one another; that those whom nature has inspired with the greatest zeal of assisting one another, may be the nearest and readiest to do it; and it is matter of great reproach, if husband or wife survive one another, or if a child survives his parent, and therefore when they come to be engaged in action, they continue to fight to the last man, if their enemies stand before them. And as they use all prudent methods to avoid the endangering their own men, and if it is possible, let all the action and danger fall upon the troops that they hire; so if it comes to that, that they must engage, they charge them with as much

courage, as they avoided it before with prudence; nor is it a fierce charge at first, but it increases by degrees. And as they continue in action, they grow more obstinate, and press harder upon the enemy, insomuch that they will much sooner die than give ground; for the certainty in which they are, that their children will be well looked after when they are dead, frees them from all anxiety concerning them, which does often master men of great courage, and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible resolution. Their skill in military matters increases their courage; and the good opinions which are infused in them during their education, according to the laws of the country, and their learning, add more vigour to their minds; for as they do not undervalue life to the degree of throwing it away too prodigally, so they are not so indecently fond of it, that when they see they must sacrifice it honourably, they will preserve it by base and unbecoming methods. In the greatest heat of action, the bravest of their youth, that have jointly devoted themselves for that piece of service, single out the general of their enemies, and set on him either openly, or lay an ambuscade for him. If any of them are spent and wearied in the attempt, others come in their stead, so that they never give over pursuing him, either by close weapons, when they can get near him, or those that wound at a distance, when others get in between: thus they seldom fail to kill or take him at last, if he does not secure himself by flight. When they gain the day in any battle, they kill as

few as possibly they can, and are much more set on taking many prisoners, than on killing those that fly before them: nor do they ever let their men so loose in the pursuit of their enemies, that they do not retain an entire body still in order; so that if they have been forced to engage the last of their battalions before they could gain the day, they will rather let their enemies all escape than pursue them, when their own army is in disorder; remembering well what has often fallen out to themselves, that when the main body of their army has been quite defeated and broken, so that their enemies reckoning the victory was sure, and in their hands, have let themselves loose into an irregular pursuit, a few of them that lay for a reserve, waiting a fit opportunity, have fallen on them while they were in this chace, straggling in disorder, apprehensive of no danger, but counting the day their own, and have turned the whole action, and so wresting out of their hands a victory that seemed certain and undoubted, the vanquished have of a sudden become victorious.

"It is hard to tell whether they are more dexterous in laying or avoiding ambushes: they sometimes seem to fly when it is far from their thoughts; and when they intend to give ground, they do it so, that it is very hard to find out their design. If they see they are ill posted, or are like to be overpowered by numbers, then they either march off in the night with great silence, or by some stratagem they delude their enemies: if they retire in the day-time, they do it in such order, that it is

no less dangerous to fall upon them in a retreat, than in a march. They fortify their camps well with a deep and large trench, and throw up the earth that is dug out of it for a wall; nor do they employ only their slaves in this, but the whole army works at it, except those that are then upon the guard; so that when so many hands are at work, a great line and a strong fortification is finished in so short a time, that it is scarce credible.[164] Their armour is very strong for defence, and yet is not so heavy as to make them uneasy in their marches; they can even swim with it. All that are trained up to war, practise swimming much. Both horse and foot make great use of arrows, and are very expert at it. They have no swords, but fight with a poleaxe that is both sharp and heavy, by which they thrust or strike down an enemy. They are very good at finding out warlike machines, and disguise them so well, that the enemy does not perceive them till he feels the use of them; so that he cannot prepare such a defence against them, by which they might be made ridiculous as well as useless. The chief consideration had in the making of them is, that they may be easily carried and managed.

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[164] The author had here in view the practice of the Roman armies, who worked as described in the text, and have left, in almost every country in Europe, a camp thus fortified, an object of admiration to all mankind. Never was military discipline carried so far as by the republicans of Rome, whose valour bore down everything before it, and whose perseverance wore out the patience of the most determined foes.

"If they agree to a truce, they observe it so religiously, that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their enemies' country waste, nor burn their corn; and even in their marches they take all possible care, that neither horse nor foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have use for it themselves. They hurt no man that they find disarmed, unless he is a spy. When a town is surrendered to them, they take it into their protection; and when they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it, but put those only to the sword that opposed the rendering it up, and make the rest of the garrison slaves: but for the other inhabitants, they do them no hurt; and if any of them had advised a surrender of it, they give them good rewards out of the estates of those that they condemn, and distribute the rest among their auxiliary troops, but they themselves take no share of the spoil.

"When a war is ended, they do not oblige their friends to reimburse them of their expense in it; but they take that from the conquered, either in money, which they keep for the next occasion, or in lands, out of which a constant revenue is to be paid them; by many increases, the revenue which they draw out from several countries on such occasions, is now risen to above 700,000 ducats a year. They send some of their own people to receive these revenues, who have orders to live magnificently, and like princes, and so they consume much of it upon the place; and either bring over the rest to Utopia, or lend it to that nation in which it

lies. This they most commonly do, unless some great occasion, which falls out but very seldom, should oblige them to call for it all. It is out of these lands that they assign these rewards to such as they encourage to adventure on desperate attempts, which was mentioned formerly. If any prince that engages in war with them is making preparations for invading their country, they prevent him, and make his country the seat of the war, for they do not willingly suffer any war to break in upon their island; and if that should happen, they would only defend themselves by their own people, but would not at all call for auxiliary troops to their assistance.

OF THE RELIGIONS OF THE UTOPIANS.

"There are several sorts of religions, not only in different parts of the island, but even in every town; some worshipping the sun, others the moon, or one of the planets. Some worship such men as have been eminent in former times for virtue or glory, not only as ordinary deities, but as the supreme God; yet the greater and wiser sort of them worship none of these, but adore one eternal, invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible Deity,[166] as a being that is far above all our apprehensions, that is spread over the whole universe, not by its

[166] Something like the state of things here described existed in Greece, and, perhaps, in no other country, at least to the same extent. Sir Thomas More evidently does not disapprove of it, but rather exaggerates the superstition of the ancients, and

bulk, but by its power and virtue; him they call the *Father of all,* and acknowledge that the beginnings, the increase, the progress, the vicissitudes, and the end of all things come only from him; nor do they offer divine honours to any but to him alone. And indeed, though they differ concerning other things, yet all agree in this, that they think there is one Supreme Being that made and governs the world, whom they call in the language of their country, Mithras. They differ in this, that one thinks the God whom he worships is this Supreme Being, and another thinks that his idol is that God; but they all agree in one principle, that whatever is this Supreme Being, is also that great essence, to whose glory and majesty all honours are ascribed by the consent of all nations.

"By degrees they all fall off from the various superstitions that are among them, and grow up to that one religion that is most in request, and is much the best; and there is no doubt to be made, but that all the others had vanished long ago, if it had not happened that some unlucky accidents falling on those who were advising the change of those superstitious ways of worship, these have been ascribed not to chance, but to somewhat from heaven, and so have raised in them a fear that the god, whose worship was like to be abandoned, has

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allows it to his Utopians; for even the Greeks never thought their heroes, or deified men, even on the same level with their lowest gods, to say nothing of the Supreme. Their philosophers conceived of God as we do.

interposed, and revenged himself on those that designed it.

"After they had heard from us an account of the doctrine, the course of life, and the miracles of Christ, and of the wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood that was so willingly offered up by them, was the chief occasion of spreading their religion over a vast number of nations, it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I shall not determine whether this proceeded from any secret inspiration of God, or whether it was because it seemed so favourable to that community of goods, which is an opinion so particular, as well as so dear to them; since they perceived that Christ and his followers lived by that rule; and that it was still kept up in some communities among the sincerest sort of Christians. From whichsoever of these motives it might be, true it is, that many of them came over to our religion, and were initiated into it by baptism. But as two of our number were dead, so none of the four that survived were in priest's orders, therefore we could do no more but baptize them; so that to our great regret they could not partake of the other sacraments, that can only be administered by priests: but they are instructed concerning them, and long most vehemently for them; and they were disputing very much among themselves, whether one that were chosen by them to be a priest, would not be thereby qualified to do all the things that belong to that character, even though he had no authority derived from the pope; and

they seemed to be resolved to choose some for that employment, but they had not done it when I left them.

"Those among them that have not received our religion, yet do not fright any from it, and use none ill that goes over to it; so that all the while I was there, one man was only punished on this occasion. He being newly baptized did, notwithstanding all that we could say to the contrary, dispute publicly concerning the Christian religion, with more zeal than discretion, and with so much heat, that he not only preferred our worship to theirs, but condemned all their rites as profane, and cried out against all that adhered to them, as impious and sacrilegious persons, that were to be damned to everlasting burnings. Upon this, he having preached these things often, was seized on, and after a trial, he was condemned to banishment, not for having disparaged their religion, but for his inflaming the people to sedition; for this is one of their ancientest laws, that no man ought to be punished for his religion.[167] At the first constitution of their government, Utopus having understood, that before his coming among them, the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion, by which they were so broken among themselves, that he found it an easy thing to conquer them, since they did not unite their

[167] Sir Thomas More lived to think differently, and became himself a persecutor! So little is man capable of resisting the spirit of his age.

forces against him, but every different party in religion fought by themselves. Upon that, after he had subdued them, he made a law to that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions, but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion, and was neither to mix reproaches nor violence with it; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

"This law was made by Utopus, not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcileable heats in these matters, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it was not fit to determine anything rashly in that matter; and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inspire men differently, he being possibly pleased with a variety in it:[168] and so he thought it was a very indecent and foolish thing for any man to frighten and threaten other men to believe anything because it seemed true to him; and in case that one religion were certainly true, and all the rest false, he reckoned that the native force of truth would break forth at last, and shine

[168] This opinion has been advanced in our own age; and perhaps, with certain restrictions, it may be true. But on such a point no one can safely dogmatize.

bright, if it were managed only by the strength of argument, and with a winning gentleness; whereas, if such matters were carried on by violence and tumults, then, as the wickedest sort of men are always the most obstinate, so the holiest and best religion in the world might be overlaid with so much foolish superstition, that it would be quite choked with it, as corn is with briars and thorns; therefore he left men wholly to their liberty in this matter, that they might be free to believe as they should see cause; only he made a solemn and severe law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature, as to think that our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance, without a wise, overruling Providence: for they did all formerly believe that there was a state of rewards and punishments to the good and bad after this life; and they look on those that think otherwise, as scarce fit to be counted men, since they degrade so noble a being as our soul is, and reckon it to be no better than a beast. So far are they from looking on such men as fit for human society, or to be citizens of a well-ordered commonwealth; since a man of such principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their laws and customs: for there is no doubt to be made, that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law, and apprehends nothing after death, will not stand to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, that so he may satisfy his appetites. They never raise any that hold these maxims, either to honours or offices,

nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them, as men of base and sordid minds: yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down for a ground, that a man cannot make himself believe anything he pleases, nor do they drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threatenings, so that men are not tempted to lie or disguise their opinions among them, which being a sort of fraud, is abhorred by the Utopians. They take, indeed, care that they may not argue for these opinions, especially before the common people; but they do suffer, and even encourage them to dispute concerning them in private with their priests, and other grave men, being confident that they will be cured of those mad opinions, by having reason laid before them. There are many among them that run far to the other extreme, though it is neither thought an ill nor unreasonable opinion, and therefore is not at all discouraged. They think that the souls of beasts are immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human soul, and not capable of so great a happiness. They are almost all of them very firmly persuaded, that good men will be infinitely happy in another state; so that though they are compassionate to all that are sick, yet they lament no man's death, except they see him part with life uneasy, and as if he were forced to it; for they look on this as a very ill presage, as if the soul, being conscious to itself of guilt, and quite hopeless, were afraid to die from some secret hints of approaching misery. They think that such a man's appearance before God

cannot be acceptable to him, who being called on, does not go out cheerfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to it. They are struck with horror when they see any die in this manner; and carry them out in silence, and with sorrow, and praying God that he would be merciful to the errors of the departed soul, they lay the body in the ground: but when any die cheerfully, and full of hope, they do not mourn for them, but sing hymns when they carry out their bodies; and commending their souls very earnestly to God, in such a manner, that their whole behaviour is rather grave than sad, they burn their body, and set up a pillar where the pile was made, with an inscription to the honour of such men's memory. And when they come from the funeral, they discourse of their good life and worthy actions, but speak of nothing oftener and with more pleasure, than of their serenity at their death. They think such respect paid to the memory of good men, is both the greatest incitement to engage others to follow their example, and the most acceptable worship that can be offered them; for they believe that though, by the imperfection of human sight, they are invisible to us, yet they are present among us, and hear those discourses that pass concerning themselves. And they think that it does not agree to the happiness of departed souls, not to be at liberty to be where they will; nor do they imagine them capable of the ingratitude of not desiring to see those friends, with whom they lived on earth in the strictest bonds of

love and kindness: and they judge that such good principles, as all other good things, are rather increased than lessened in good men after their death; so that they conclude they are still among the living, and do observe all that is said or done by them. And they engage in all affairs that they set about with so much the more assurance, trusting to their protection; and the opinion that they have of their ancestors being still present, is a great restraint on them from all ill designs.

"They despise and laugh at all sorts of auguries, and the other vain and superstitious ways of divination, that are so much observed among other nations; but they have great reverence for such miracles as cannot flow from any of the powers of nature, and look on them as effects and indications of the presence of the Supreme Being, of which they say many instances have occurred among them; and that sometimes their public prayers, which upon great and dangerous occasions they have solemnly put up to God, with assured confidence of being heard, have been answered in a miraculous manner.

"They think the contemplating God in his works, and the adoring him for them, is a very acceptable piece of worship to him.

"There are many among them that, upon a motive of religion, neglect learning, and apply themselves to no sort of study; nor do they allow themselves any leisure time, but are perpetually employed in doing somewhat, believing that by the good things that a man does he secures to him-

self that happiness that comes after death. Some of these visit the sick; others mend highways, cleanse ditches, or repair bridges, and dig turf, gravel, or stones. Others fell and cleave timber, and bring wood, corn, and other necessaries, on carts into their towns. Nor do these only serve the public, but they serve even private men more than the slaves themselves do; for if there is anywhere a rough, hard, and sordid piece of work to be done, from which many are frightened by the labour and loathsomeness of it, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they do cheerfully, and of their own accord, take that to their share; and by that means, as they ease others very much, so they afflict themselves, and spend their whole life in hard labour; and yet they do not value themselves upon that, nor lessen other people's credit, that by so doing they may raise their own; but, by their stooping to such servile employments, they are so far from being despised that they are so much the more esteemed by the whole nation.

"Of these there are two sorts. Some live unmarried and chaste, and abstain from eating any sort of flesh, and thus weaning themselves from all the pleasures of the present life, which they account hurtful, they pursue, even by the hardest and most painful methods possible, that blessedness which they hope for hereafter; and the nearer they approach to it they are the more cheerful and earnest in their endeavours after it. Another sort of them are less willing to put themselves to much toil, and so they prefer a married state to a single

one; and as they do not deny themselves the pleasure of it, so they think the begetting of children is a debt which they owe to human nature and to their country. Nor do they avoid any pleasure that does not hinder labour; and, therefore, they eat flesh so much the more willingly because they find themselves so much the more able for work by it. The Utopians look upon these as the wiser sect, but they esteem the others as the holier. They would, indeed, laugh at any man, that upon the principles of reason, would prefer an unmarried state to a married, or a life of labour to an easy life; but they reverence and admire such as do it upon a motive of religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious than in giving their opinions positively concerning any sort of religion. The men that lead those severe lives are called in the language of their country, Brutheskas, which answers to those we call religious orders.

"Their priests are men of eminent piety, and therefore they are but few; for there are only thirteen in every town, one for every temple in it; but, when they go to war, seven of these go out with their forces, and seven others are chosen to supply their room in their absence; but these enter again upon their employment when they return, and those who served in their absence attend upon the high-priest till vacancies fall by death; for there is one that is set over all the rest. They are chosen by the people, as the other magistrates are, by suffrages given in secret, for preventing of factions; and when they are chosen they are con-

secrated by the college of priests. The care of all sacred things, and the worship of God, and an inspection into the manners of the people, is committed to them. It is a reproach to a man to be sent for by any of them, or to be even spoken to in secret by them, for that always gives some suspicions. All that is incumbent on them is only to exhort and admonish people; for the power of correcting and punishing ill men belongs wholly to the prince and to the other magistrates. The severest thing that the priest does is the excluding of men that are desperately wicked from joining in their worship.[169] There is not any sort of punishment that is more dreaded by them than this; for, as it loads them with infamy, so it fills them with secret horrors,—such is their reverence to their religion. Nor will their bodies be long exempted from their share of trouble; for, if they do not very quickly satisfy the priests of the truth of their repentance, they are seized on by the senate, and punished for their impiety. The breeding of the youth belongs to the priests; yet they do not take so much care of instructing them in letters as of forming their minds and manners aright; and they use all possible methods to infuse very early

[169] This was accounted a grievous punishment among the Greeks, more particularly at Athens, where religion flourished more than in any other part of the ancient world. Impiety they accounted among the worst offences a man could commit, and it was their firm persuasion that his wickedness brought a curse upon the country at large; hence the severity of his punishment.

in the tender and flexible minds of children such opinions as are both good in themselves, and will be useful to their country; for when deep impressions of these things are made at that age, they follow men through the whole course of their lives, and conduce much for the preserving the peace of the government, which suffers by nothing more than by vices that rise out of ill opinions. The wives of their priests are the most extraordinary women of the whole country: sometimes the women themselves are made priests, though that falls out but seldom, nor are any but ancient widows chosen into that order.

"None of the magistrates have greater honour paid them than is paid the priests; and if they should happen to commit any crime, they would not be questioned for it: their punishment is left to God and to their own consciences; for they do not think it lawful to lay hands on any man, how wicked soever he is, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God.[170] Nor do they find any great inconvenience in this, both because they have so few priests, and because these are chosen with much caution, so that it must be a very unusual thing to find one who was, merely out of regard to his virtue, and for his being esteemed a singularly

[170] Here we discover the strongest mark anywhere discernible throughout the work that the author was a Papist. A sensible Pagan would have spurned such a doctrine, and agreed with the Protestant in deciding that, in proportion to the sacredness of the priest's calling, should be the severity of his punishment; for from him to whom much is given much should be required.

good man, raised up to so great a dignity, degenerate into such corruption and vice. And if such a thing should fall out, (for man is a changeable creature,) yet there being few priests, and these having no authority but that which arises out of the respect that is paid them, nothing that is of great consequence to the public, can come from the indemnity that the priests enjoy.

"They have, indeed, very few of them, lest greater numbers sharing in the same honour, might make the dignity of that order which they esteem so highly, to sink in its reputation. They also think it is hard to find out many that are of such a pitch of goodness as to be equal to that dignity for which they judge that ordinary virtues do not qualify a man sufficiently: nor are the priests in greater veneration among them than they are among their neighbouring nations, as you may imagine by that which I think gives occasion for it.

"When the Utopians engage in a battle, the priests that accompany them to the war kneel down during the action, in a place not far from the field, apparalled in their sacred vestments; and, lifting up their hands to heaven, they pray, first for peace, and then for victory to their own side, and particularly that it may be gained without the effusion of much blood on either side; and, when the victory turns to their side, they run in among their own men, to restrain their fury; and if any of their enemies see them or call to them, they are preserved by that means; and such as can come so near them as to

touch their garments have not only their lives but their fortunes secured to them. It is upon this account that all the nations round about consider them so much and pay them so great reverence, that they have been often no less able to preserve their own people from the fury of their enemies than to save their enemies from their rage: for it has sometimes fallen out, that when their armies have been in disorder and forced to fly, so that their enemies were running upon the slaughter and spoil, the priests, by interposing, have stopped the shedding of more blood, and have separated them from one another; so that, by their mediation, a peace has been concluded on very reasonable terms; nor is there any nation about them so fierce, cruel, or barbarous as not to look upon their persons as sacred and inviolable.

"The first and the last day of the month, and of the year, is a festival. They measure their months by the course of the moon; and their years by the course of the sun. The first days are called in their language the Cynemernes, and the last the Trapemernes, which answers in our language to the festival that begins, or ends the season.

"They have magnificent temples, that are not only nobly built, but are likewise of great reception; which is necessary, since they have so few of them. They are a little dark within, which flows not from any error in their architecture, but is done on design; for their priests think that too much light dissipates the thoughts, and that a more moderate degree of it both recollects the

mind and raises devotion.[171] Though there are many different forms of religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main point, which is the worshipping the Divine Essence; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples in which the several persuasions among them may not agree; for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it in their private houses, nor is there anything in the public worship that contradicts the particular ways of those different sects. There are no images of God in their temples; so that every one may represent him to his thoughts according to the way of his religion. Nor do they call this one God by any other name but that of Mithras, which is the common name by which they all express the Divine Essence, whatsoever otherwise they think it to be. Nor are there any prayers among them but such as every one of them may use without prejudice to his own opinion.

"They meet in their temples on the evening of the festival that concludes a season; and, not hav-

[171] This is philosophically true, and has been most poetically employed by Milton, in a passage which, though known to every body, may, for its extreme beauty, find a place here:—

"But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloister's pale,
And love the high embowed roof,
With antic pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light:
There let the pealing organ blow
To the full-voiced choir below,
In service high and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstacies,
And bring all heaven before mine eyes!"

ing yet broken their fast, they thank God for their good success during that year or month, which is then at an end. And the next day, being that which begins the new season, they meet early in their temples, to pray for the happy progress of all their affairs during that period upon which they then enter. In the festival which concludes the period before they go to the temple, both wives and children fall on their knees before their husbands or parents, and confess everything in which they have either erred or failed in their duty, and beg pardon for it. Thus all little discontents in families are removed, that so they may offer up their devotions with a pure and serene mind; for they hold it a great impiety to enter upon them with disturbed thoughts; or when they are conscious to themselves that they bear hatred or anger in their hearts to any person; and think that they should become liable to severe punishments, if they presumed to offer sacrifices without cleansing their hearts, and reconciling all their differences. In the temples the two sexes are separated, the men go to the right hand and the women to the left;[172] and the males and females do all place themselves before the head and master or mistress of that family to which they belong; so that those who have the government of them at home may see

[172] This was the regulation in most of the primitive churches, and should be in every church; but I do not see the necessity for the lofty screen said to exist in work-house chapels; or, if it be adopted there, it should be everywhere.

their deportment in public. And they intermingle them so, that the younger and the older may be set by one another; for if the younger sort were all set together, they would perhaps trifle away that time too much in which they ought to beget in themselves a most religious dread of the Supreme Being, which is the greatest and almost the only incitement to virtue.

"They offer up no living creature in sacrifice, nor do they think it suitable to the Divine Being, from whose bounty it is that these creatures have derived their lives, to take pleasure in their death, or the offering up their blood. They burn incense, and other sweet odours, and have a great number of wax-lights during their worship; not out of any imagination that such oblations can add anything to the Divine nature, for even prayers do not that; but, as it is a harmless and pure way of worshipping God, so they think those sweet savours and lights, together with some other ceremonies, do, by a secret and unaccountable virtue, elevate men's souls, and inflame them with more force and cheerfulness during the Divine worship.

"The people appear all in the temples in white garments; but the priest's vestments are parti-coloured; both the work and colours are wonderful: they are made of no rich materials, for they are neither embroidered, nor set with precious stones, but are composed of the plumes of several birds, laid together with so much art, and so neatly, that the true value of them is far beyond the costliest materials. They say that, in the ordering

and placing those plumes, some dark mysteries are represented, which pass down among their priests in a secret tradition concerning them; and that they are as hieroglyphics, putting them in mind of the blessings that they have received from God, and of their duties both to Him and to their neighbours. As soon as the priest appears in those ornaments, they all fall prostrate on the ground, with so much reverence and so deep a silence, that such as look on cannot but be struck with it, as if it were the effect of the appearance of a deity. After they have been for some time in this posture, they all stand up, upon a sign given by the priest, and sing some hymns to the honour of God, some musical instruments playing all the while. These are quite of another form than those that are used among us; but as many of them are much sweeter than ours, so others are not to be compared to those that we have. Yet in one thing they exceed us much, which is, that all their music, both vocal and instrumental, does so imitate and express the passions, and is so fitted to the present occasion, whether the subject-matter of the hymn is cheerful, or made to appease or trouble, doleful or angry; that the music makes an impression of that which is represented, by which it enters deep into the hearers, and does very much affect and kindle them. When this is done, both priests and people offer up very solemn prayers to God in a set form of words; and these are so composed that whatsoever is pronounced by the whole assembly may be likewise applied by every man in particu-

lar to his own condition. In these they acknowledge God to be the author and governor of the world, and the fountain of all the good that they receive; for which they offer up their thanksgivings to Him, and, in particular, they bless Him for his goodness in ordering it so that they are born under a government that is the happiest in the world, and are of a religion that they hope is the truest of all others; but, if they are mistaken, and if there is either a better government, or a religion more acceptable to God, they implore his goodness to let them know it, vowing that they resolve to follow him whithersoever he leads them; but if their government is the best, and their religion the truest, then they pray that he may fortify them in it, and bring all the world both to the same rules of life, and to the same opinions concerning himself; unless, according to the unsearchableness of his mind, he is pleased with a variety of religions. Then they pray that God may give them an easy passage at last to himself; not presuming to set limits to him, how early or late it should be; but, if it may be wished for without derogating from his supreme authority, they desire rather to be quickly delivered, and to go to God, though by the most terrible sort of death, than to be detained long from seeing him, in the most prosperous course of life possible. When this prayer is ended, they all fall down again upon the ground, and after a little while they rise up, and go home to dinner, and spend the rest of the day in diversion, or military exercises.

"Thus have I described to you as particularly as I could the constitution of that commonwealth, which I do not only think to be the best in the world, but to be, indeed, the only commonwealth that truly deserves that name. In all other places it is visible that whereas people talk of a commonwealth, every man only seeks his own wealth; but there, where no man has any property, all men do zealously pursue the good of the public; and, indeed, it is no wonder to see men act so differently, for in other commonwealths every man knows that, unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, he must die of hunger; so that he sees the necessity of preferring his own concerns to the public. But in Utopia, where every man has a right to everything, they do all know that if care is taken to keep the public stores full, no private man can want anything; for among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, nor in any necessity; and though no man has anything, yet they are all rich; for what can make a man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties; neither apprehending want himself, nor vexed with the endless complaints of his wife? He is not afraid of the misery of his children, nor is he contriving how to raise a portion for his daughters, but is secure in this, that both he and his wife, his children and grandchildren, to as many generations as he can fancy, will all live both plentifully and happily, since among them there is no less care taken of those who were once engaged in

labour, but grow afterwards unable to follow it, than there is elsewhere for these that continue still at it. I would gladly hear any man compare the justice that is among them, with that which is among all other nations; among whom, may I perish, if I see anything that looks either like justice or equity. For what justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, or a banker, or any other man that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendour upon that which is so ill-acquired, and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labours that are so necessary that no commonwealth could hold out a year to an end without them, can yet be able to earn so poor a livelihood out of it, and must lead so miserable a life in it, that the beasts' condition is much better than theirs? For, as the beasts do not work so constantly, so they feed almost as well, and more pleasantly, and have no anxiety about that which is to come; whereas these men are depressed by a barren and fruitless employment, and are tormented with the apprehensions of want in their old age; since that which they get by their daily labour does but maintain them at present, and is consumed as fast as it comes in; so that there is no overplus left them which they can lay up for old age.[173]

[173] It were much to be wished that those who regulate the

"Is not that government both unjust and ungrateful that is so prodigal of its favours to those that are called gentlemen, or goldsmiths, or such others that are idle, or live either by flattery, or by contriving the arts of vain pleasure; and, on the other hand, takes no care of those of a meaner sort, such as ploughmen, colliers, and smiths, without whom it could not subsist; but, after the public has been served by them, and that they come to be oppressed with age, sickness, and want, all their labours and the good that they have done are forgotten, and all the recompence given them is, that they are left to die in great misery; and the richer sort are often endeavouring to bring the hire of labourers lower, not only by their fraudulent practices, but by the laws which they procure to be made to that effect; so that, though it is a thing

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public concerns of nations were actuated by principles, and elevated by opinions such as Sir Thomas More generally inculcates, more particularly in relation to the poor. Most politicians exhibit extreme impatience when this subject is forced upon their consideration. They appear as though they would gladly be rid of the needy altogether, that they might be delivered from the task of providing for them; but Christianity, were its precepts converted, as they were intended, into principles of action, would banish this unholy feeling, and render the providing for the helpless one of the most pleasing, though difficult, of all the tasks a statesman has to accomplish. "He who giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord;" and God will assuredly requite every good act a hundred fold both here and hereafter. Politics are commonly kept too assiduously beyond the reach of the influence of religion, which, nevertheless, is the only power that can purify or raise that science of sciences to its proper elevation.

most unjust in itself to give such small rewards to those who deserve so well of the public, yet they have given these hardships the name and colour of justice, by procuring laws to be made for regulating it.

"Therefore I must say that, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I see or know, than that they are a conspiracy of the richer sort, who, on pretence of managing the public, do only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and arts that they can find out; first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then, that they may engage the poorer sort to toil and labour for them at as low rates as is possible, and oppress them as much as they please; and if they can but prevail to get these contrivances established by the show of public authority, which is considered as the representative of the whole people, then they are accounted laws; and yet these wicked men, after they have by a most insatiable covetousness divided that among themselves with which all the rest might have been well supplied, are far from that happiness that is enjoyed among the Utopians; for the use, as well as the desire of money being extinguished, there is much anxiety and great occasions of mischief cut off with it. And who does not see that frauds, thefts, robberies, quarrels, tumults, contentions, seditions, murders, treacheries, and witchcrafts, that are indeed rather punished than

restrained by the severities of law, would all fall off if money were not any more valued by the world? Men's fears, solicitudes, cares, labours, and watchings would all perish in the same moment that the value of money did sink. Even poverty itself, for the relief of which money seems most necessary, would fall, if there were no money in the world. And, in order to the apprehending this aright, take one instance.

"Consider any year that has been so unfruitful that many thousands have died of hunger; and yet, if at the end of that year a survey were made of the granaries of all the rich men that have hoarded up the corn, it would be found that there was enough among them to have prevented all that consumption of men that perished in that misery; and that, if it had been distributed among them, none would have felt the terrible effects of that scarcity; so easy a thing would it be to supply all the necessities of life, if that blessed thing called money, that is pretended to be invented for procuring it, were not really the only thing that obstructed it.

"I do not doubt but rich men are sensible of this, and that they know well how much a greater happiness it were to want nothing that were necessary than to abound in many superfluities; and to be rescued out of so much misery, than to abound with so much wealth. And I cannot think but the sense of every man's interest, and the authority of Christ's commands, who, as he was

infinitely wise, and so knew what was best, so was no less good in discovering it to us, would have drawn all the world over to the laws of the Utopians, if pride, that plague of human nature, that is the source of so much misery, did not hinder it; which does not measure happiness so much by its own conveniences as by the miseries of others; and would not be satisfied with being thought a goddess, if none were left that were miserable, over whom she might insult; and thinks its own happiness shines the brighter by comparing it with the misfortunes of other persons; that so, by displaying its own wealth, they may feel their poverty the more sensibly. This is that infernal serpent that creeps into the breasts of mortals, and possesses them too much to be easily drawn out; and therefore I am glad that the Utopians have fallen upon this form of government, in which I wish that all the world could be so wise as to imitate them; for they have indeed laid down such a scheme and foundation of policy that, as men live happy under it, so it is like to be of great continuance: for, they having rooted out of the minds of their people all the seeds, both of ambition and faction, there is no danger of any commotion at home; which alone has been the ruin of many states that seemed otherwise to be well secured; but as long as they live in peace at home, and are governed by such good laws, the envy of all their neighbouring princes, who have often attempted their ruin, but in vain,

will never be able to put their state into any commotion or disorder."

When Raphael had thus made an end of speaking, though many things occurred to me, both concerning the manners and laws of that people, that seemed very absurd, as well in their way of making war as in their notions of religion and divine matters; together with several other particulars, but chiefly that which seemed the foundation of all the rest, their living in common, without any use of money, by which all nobility, magnificence, splendour and majesty, which according to the common opinion are the true ornaments of a nation, would be quite taken away; yet, since I perceived that Raphael was weary, and I was not sure whether he could easily bear contradiction in these matters, remembering that he had taken notice of some who seemed to think that they were bound in honour for supporting the credit of their own wisdom to find out some matter of censure in all other men's inventions, besides their own; therefore I only commended their constitution, and the account he had given of it in general; and so taking him by the hand, I carried him to supper, and told him I would find out some other time for examining that matter more particularly, and for discoursing more copiously concerning it; for which I wish I may find a good opportunity. In the meanwhile, though I cannot perfectly agree to everything that was related by Raphael, yet there are many things

in the commonwealth of Utopia that I rather wish than hope to see followed in our governments; though it must be confessed that he is both a very learned man, and has had a great practice in the world.

END OF THE UTOPIA.

NEW
ATLANTIS.

A

WORK UNFINISHED.

WRITTEN BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

FRANCIS, LORD VERULAM,

VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS.

It would be unjust to pass judgment on this fragment of Lord Bacon, as though it were a complete work. For, since the whole plan of the New Atlantis has not been preserved, we are unable to decide whether he designed this portion which we possess to form an important, or merely a subordinate part. In my own opinion, his lordship, had he lived to perfect his imaginary commonwealth, would have laid comparatively little stress on the college of the Atlanteans: though a thing by no means to be overlooked in the framing of a state. Rawley, as the reader will perceive, is of a different opinion. To him we appear to have in the present fragment that which Bacon himself regarded as the kernel of his commonwealth—that in behalf of which he invented the whole fiction. Could I adopt this view of the matter, it would seem to me a cause of little regret that he stopped short where he did. There is nothing very marvellous in the "College of the Six Days' Work," nothing in search of which a great man needed to have sent his imagination floundering through the Pacific. But if, as I imagine, it was Bacon's intention to have constructed a polity in all respects on the same scale, as excellent in laws and manners as in studies, then the fragment of the New Atlantis assumes considerable importance, as a sort of platform, standing upon which we may in some measure command a prospect of the whole scheme of things as it existed in the conception of the philosopher. And, under this persuasion, I have thought the New Atlantis worth reprinting at the end of Sir Thomas More's philosophical romance. It must be regarded simply as a chapter or two of Lord Bacon's "Utopia"—as a wing, or an apartment of one of the King of Bohemia's Seven Castles—which may not even, in the way above suggested, enable us to form a true notion of the other apartments and castles—but is still curious in itself, and worthy of the degree of attention likely to be bestowed on it. Under another point of view, every fragment of this legislative kind, proceeding from intellects such as Bacon's, will be thought to possess much interest, if compared with the imaginary states framed by Plato in his Republic and his Laws; or dimly shadowed forth by Aristotle in his Politics. It may, in this way, be seen whether and how much men have progressed in the science of politics—whether the moderns, when free to choose, form a loftier conception of national happiness than the nations of the old world; and whether, their theory once adopted, they pursue better or wiser means for the accomplishment of their ends.

TO THE READER.

THIS fable my lord devised, to the end that he might exhibit therein a model or description of a college, instituted for the interpreting of nature,[1] and the producing of great and marvellous works for the benefit of men, under the name of Solomon's House, or, the College of the Six Days' Works. And even so far his lordship hath proceeded as to finish that part. Certainly the model is more vast and high than can possibly be imitated in all things, notwithstanding most things therein are within men's power to effect. His lordship thought also in this present fable to have composed a frame of laws, or of the best state or mould of a commonwealth; but foreseeing it would be a long work, his desire of collecting the natural history diverted him, which he preferred many degrees before it.

This work of the New Atlantis (as much as concerneth the English edition) his lordship designed for this place, in regard it hath so near affinity (in one part of it) with the preceding natural history.

RAWLEY.

[1] Rawley probably laid more stress upon this "interpreting of nature," than on that other interpreting, viz. of politics, with which Lord Bacon certainly designed to have enriched the present work. Why this portion of the plan was abandoned, it might not be impossible to conjecture. That it was for a very different reason from the one laid down by Rawley, which supposes his lordship to have greatly preferred secret-hunting to the promotion of human happiness, I am convinced. He probably dreaded the reputation of a political innovator; and unless to propose changes and innovations, to what end should he have written?

NEW ATLANTIS.

We sailed from Peru (where we had continued for the space of one whole year) for China and Japan, by the South Sea, taking with us victuals for twelve months, and had good winds from the east, though soft and weak, for five months' space and more; but then the wind came about, and settled in the west for many days, so as we could make little or no way, and were sometimes in purpose to turn back. But then again there arose strong and great winds from the south, with a point east, which carried us up, for all that we could do, towards the north; by which time our victuals failed us, though we had made good spare of them.[2] So that, finding ourselves in the midst of

[2] His lordship was evidently little versed in the framing of fictions, except the fictions of law, for he here falls at the very outset into a clumsy appearance of contradiction. For, after stating that the ship was provisioned for twelve months, he supposes, when they had sailed westward during five months, and been tossed about some short time (surely not seven months more) by contrary winds, that their stock fell short, notwithstanding they had been frugal in the use of it. Honest Lemuel Gulliver managed things better than this; and Raphael Hythloday, though scarcely deserving, for truth and consistency, to be

the greatest wilderness of waters in the world, without victuals, we gave ourselves for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, "who showeth his wonders in the deep," beseeching him of his mercy, that as in the beginning he discovered the face of the deep, and brought forth dry land, so he would now discover land to us, that we might not perish. And it came to pass that the next day about evening we saw, within a kenning before us, towards the north, as it were, thicker clouds, which did put us in some hope of land; knowing how that part of the South Sea was utterly unknown, and might have islands or continents that hitherto were not come to light. Wherefore we bent our course thither, where we saw the appearance of land all that night; and in the dawning of the next day we might plainly discern that it was a land flat to our sight,[3] and full of boscage, which made it show the more dark: and after an hour-and-a-half's sailing we entered into a good haven, being the port of a fair city, not great in-

compared with the Lilliputian voyager, would have navigated the Pacific with infinitely greater skill and regard to probabilities.

[3] When, in the creation of imaginary countries, we find writers deliberately relinquishing whatever advantages works of fiction derive from skilful descriptions of scenery, the omission may reasonably be ascribed to the absence of all taste for the picturesque. Lord Bacon, we see, with every possible combination of rocks, wood, and water at his disposal, presents us wilfully with a flat coast, which, though forest-clothed, produces no effect upon the imagination.

deed, but well built, and that gave a pleasant view from the sea. And we, thinking every minute long till we were on land, came close to the shore, and offered to land; but straightways we saw divers of the people with batons in their hands, as it were, forbidding us to land, yet without any cries or fierceness, but only as warning us off by signs that they made. Whereupon, being not a little discomforted, we were advising with ourselves what we should do. During which time there made forth to us a small boat with about eight persons in it, whereof one of them had in his hand a tip-staff of a yellow cane, tipped at both ends with blue, who made aboard our ship without any show of distrust at all. And when he saw one of our number present himself somewhat afore the rest, he drew forth a little scroll of parchment (somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the leaves of writing-tables, but otherwise soft and flexible,) and delivered it to our foremost man. In which scroll were written in ancient Hebrew, and in ancient Greek, and in good Latin of the school, and in Spanish,[4] these words, "Land ye not, none of you, and provide to be gone from

[4] A piece of gratuitous improbability, greater than any in Utopia. The reader at once sees that he has got among the Nephelococcygians, that cloud-race, who so readily lend themselves to the crotchets of imaginary legislators. It is not by steps such as this that Plato leads us up to the airy platform of his republic. We there gradually lose ourselves, as when we sleep, without knowing precisely when waking ends, and dreaming begins.

this coast within sixteen days, except you have further time given you : meanwhile, if you want fresh water, or victual, or help for your sick, or that your ship needeth repair, write down your wants, and you shall have that which belongeth to mercy." This scroll was signed with a stamp of cherubim's wings, not spread, but hanging downwards, and by them a cross. This being delivered, the officer returned, and left only a servant with us to receive our answer.[5] Consulting hereupon amongst ourselves, we were much perplexed. The denial of landing, and hasty warning us away, troubled us much. On the other side, to find that the people had languages, and were so full of humanity, did comfort us not a little ; and, above all, the sign of the cross to that instrument was to us a great rejoicing, and, as it were, a certain presage of good. Our answer was in the Spanish tongue, " That for our ship it was well, for we had rather met with calms and contrary winds than any tempests. For our sick, they were many, and in very ill case, so that if they were not permitted to land, they ran in danger of their lives." Our other wants we set

[5] A Chinese mandarin doubtless sat for this picture, though his lordship has somewhat softened away the sharpness of the Mongol features. Both the Atlanteans, however, and the Chinese have some reason for their Spartan inhospitality towards strangers ; especially Europeans, who have made themselves known in the eastern seas chiefly by their roguery. Excepting where Christianity has been honestly imparted to the natives, their arrival may in fact be considered an unmitigated curse.

down in particular, adding, "That we had some little store of merchandise, which, if it pleased them to deal for, it might supply our wants without being chargeable unto them." We offered some reward in pistolets unto the servant, and a piece of crimson velvet to be presented to the officer; but the servant took them not, nor would scarce look upon them; and so left us, and went back in another little boat which was sent for him.

About three hours after we had dispatched our answer, there came towards us a person (as it seemed) of place. He had on him a gown, with wide sleeves of a kind of water-camlet, of an excellent azure colour, far more glossy than ours; his under-apparel was green, and so was his hat, being in the form of a turban, daintily made, and not so huge as the Turkish turbans; and the locks of his hair came down below the brims of it. A reverend man was he to behold. He came in a boat, gilt in some part of it, with four persons more only in that boat, and was followed by another boat, wherein were some twenty. When he was come within a flight-shot of our ship, signs were made to us that we should send forth some to meet him upon the water: which we presently did in our ship's boat, sending the principal man amongst us, save one, and four of our number with him. When we were come within six yards of their boat, they called to us to stay, and not to approach further; which we did. And thereupon the man whom I before described stood up, and with a loud

voice, in Spanish, asked, "Are ye Christians?" We answered, "We were;" fearing the less because of the cross we had seen in the subscription. At which answer the said person lifted up his right hand towards heaven, and drew it softly to his mouth, (which is the gesture they use when they thank God,) and then said, "If you will swear, all of you, by the merits of the Saviour, that ye are no pirates, nor have shed blood, lawfully or unlawfully, within forty days past, you may have licence to come on land."[6] We said, "We were all ready to take that oath." Whereupon one of those that were with him, being, as it seemed, a notary, made an entry of this act. Which done, another of the attendants of the great person, who was with him in the same boat, after his lord had spoken a little to him, said aloud, "My lord would have you know that it is not of pride or greatness that he

[6] Here the Atlanteans exhibit all that simplicity which might be expected from a people so little conversant with the rest of mankind. The question, "Are you pirates?" anciently put to mariners in the Grecian seas, was sensible, because, as piracy was not then considered dishonourable, no one would object to answer it. But among this nation the charge of piracy was evidently a grave charge. It may therefore be wondered at, that any people, enlightened by the slightest degree of experience, should suppose that pirates would hesitate, if their immediate interests required it, to swear falsely, the Spartan article of faith being always theirs, "that children are deluded with playthings, and men with oaths." But this consideration appears to have had no weight with Lord Bacon, whose worthy citizens evidently supposed that if a man had committed murder, he would have no objection, before six weeks had passed over his head, ingenuously to confess it.

cometh not aboard your ship; but for that in your answer you declare that you have many sick amongst you, he was warned by the conservator of health of the city that he should keep at a distance." We bowed ourselves towards him, and answered, "We were his humble servants; and accounted for great honour and singular humanity towards us that which was already done; but hoped well that the nature of the sickness of our men was not infectious." So he returned; and a while after came the notary to us aboard our ship, holding in his hand a fruit of that country, like an orange, but of colour between orange-tawny and scarlet, which casts a most excellent odour: he used it, as it seemeth, for a preservative against infection. He gave us our oath, "By the name of Jesus and his merits;" and after told us, that the next day by six o'clock in the morning we should be sent to, and brought to the Strangers'-House,[7] (so he called it,) where we should be accommodated of things both for our whole and for our sick. So he left us; and when we offered him some pistolets, he, smiling, said, "He must not be twice paid for one labour;"[8] meaning (as I take it) that he had salary

[7] In plain English, a *Lazaretto*. I have enjoyed the hospitality exercised in a Strangers'-House of this description, and never fared better in my life. There was, however, one circumstance in which our guardians and entertainers differed from the Atlanteans,—they cherished no antipathy to being *paid twice*, or, indeed, ten times, could they have met with any person disposed so far to try their powers of endurance.

[8] This will call to mind an untoward incident in his lord-

sufficient of the state for his service; for (as I after learned) they call an officer that taketh rewards, "twice paid."

The next morning early there came to us the same officer that came to us at first with his cane, and told us, "He came to conduct us to the Strangers'-House, and that he had prevented the hour, because we might have the whole day before us for our business: for," said he, "if you will follow my advice, there shall first go with me some few of you and see the place, and how it may be made convenient for you; and then you may send for your sick, and the rest of your number, which ye will bring on land." We thanked him, and said, "That this care which he took of desolate strangers God would reward." And so six of us went on land with him; and when we were on land, he went before us, and turned to us, and said, "He was but our servant and our guide." He led us through three fair streets, and all the way we went there were gathered some people on both sides, standing in a row, but in so civil a fashion, as if it had been not to wonder at us, but to welcome us; and divers of them, as we passed by them, put their arms a little abroad, which is their gesture when they bid any welcome. The Strangers'-House is a fair and spacious house, built of brick,

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ship's own history. He could, indeed, say with Ovid, and so, perhaps, may we all,—

——— meliora video, proboque,
Deteriora sequor.

of somewhat a bluer[9] colour than our brick, and with handsome windows, some of glass, some of a kind of cambric oiled. He brought us first into a fair parlour above-stairs, and then asked us, "What number of persons we were, and how many sick?" We answered, "We were in all, sick and whole, one-and-fifty persons, whereof our sick were seventeen." He desired us to have patience a little, and to stay till he came back to us, which was about an hour after; and then he led us to see the chambers which were provided for us, being in number nineteen. They having cast it (as it seemeth) that four of those chambers, which were better than the rest, might receive four of the principal men of our company, and lodge them alone by themselves; and the other fifteen chambers were to lodge us, two and two together. The chambers were handsome and cheerful chambers, and furnished civilly. Then he led us to a long gallery, like a dortoir, where he showed us all along the one side (for the other side was but wall and window) seventeen cells, very neat ones, having partitions of cedar-wood. Which gallery

[9] Lord Bacon was evidently affected with peculiar pleasure by the sight of things of a blue colour. He might perhaps have made an exception in disfavour of Blue Stockings, whom modern philosophers, in this differing from the ancients, almost universally agree to dislike. They appear, all and several of them, to adopt the creed of Hippolytus,—σοφὴν δὲ μισῶ, "I hate a Blue,"—though they have not between them all furnished us with one sound reason for their antipathy. It is very certain, however, that few persons are quite at ease in the presence of their superiors.

and cells, being in all forty, (many more than we needed,) were instituted as an infirmary for sick persons. And he told us withal, that as any of our sick waxed well, he might be removed from his cell to a chamber; for which purpose there were set forth ten spare chambers, besides the number we spake of before. This done, he brought us back to the parlour, and lifting up his cane a little, as they do when they give any charge or command, said to us, "Ye are to know, that the custom of the land requireth that after this day and to-morrow, (which we give you for removing your people from your ship,) you are to keep within doors for three days. But let it not trouble you, nor do not think yourselves restrained, but rather left to your rest and ease. You shall want nothing; and there are six of our people appointed to attend you for any business you may have abroad." We gave him thanks with all affection and respect, and said, "God surely is manifested in this land." We offered him also twenty pistolets; but he smiled, and only said, "What, twice paid?" and so he left us.

Soon after, our dinner was served in, which was right good viands, both for bread and meat, better than any collegiate diet that I have known in Europe. We had also drink of three sorts, all wholesome and good; wine of the grape, a drink of grain, such as is with us our ale, but more clear, and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country, a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink. Besides, there were brought in to us great store of

those scarlet oranges for our sick, which (they said) were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. There was given us also a box of small grey or whitish pills, which they wished our sick should take, one of the pills every night before sleep, which (they said) would hasten their recovery.

The next day, after that our trouble of carriage and removing of our men and goods out of our ship was somewhat settled and quiet, I thought good to call our company together, and when they were assembled said unto them, "My dear friends, let us know ourselves, and how it standeth with us. We are men cast on land, as Jonas was out of the whale's belly, when we were as buried in the deep. And now we are on land, we are but between death and life; for we are beyond both the Old World and New; and whether ever we shall see Europe God only knoweth: it is a kind of miracle hath brought us hither, and it must be little less that shall bring us hence. Therefore, in regard of our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways. Besides, we are come here amongst a Christian people, full of piety and humanity; let us not bring that confusion of face upon ourselves as to show our vices or unworthiness before them. Yet there is more; for they have by commandment (though in form of courtesy) cloistered us within these walls for three days: who knoweth whether it be not to take some taste of our manners and conditions; and if they find them bad, to banish us straightways; if good,

to give us further time? For these men that they have given us for attendance may withal have an eye upon us. Therefore for God's love, and as we love the weal of our souls and bodies, let us so behave ourselves as we may be at peace with God, and may find grace in the eyes of this people." Our company with one voice thanked me for my good admonition, and promised me to live soberly and civilly, and without giving any the least occasion of offence. So we spent our three days joyfully, and without care, in expectation what would be done with us when they were expired: during which time we had every hour joy of the amendment of our sick, who thought themselves cast into some divine pool of healing, they mended so kindly and so fast.

The morrow after our three days were past, there came to us a new man that we had not seen before, clothed in blue as the former was, save that his turban was white, with a small red cross on the top; he had also a tippet of fine linen. At his coming in he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad. We of our parts saluted him in a very lowly and submissive manner, as looking that from him we should receive sentence of life or death. He desired to speak with some few of us; whereupon six of us only staid, and the rest avoided the room. He said, "I am by office governor of this House of Strangers, and by vocation I am a Christian priest; and therefore am come to you to offer you my service both as strangers, and chiefly as Christians. Some things I may tell

you, which I think you will not be unwilling to hear. The state hath given you licence to stay on land for the space of six weeks. And let it not trouble you if your occasions ask further time, for the law in this point is not precise; and I do not doubt but myself shall be able to obtain for you such further time as shall be convenient. Ye shall also understand that the Strangers'-House is at this time rich and much aforehand, for it hath laid up revenue these thirty-seven years; for so long it is since any stranger arrived in this part. And, therefore, take ye no care, the state will defray you all the time you stay, neither shall you stay one day less for that. As for any merchandise you have brought, ye shall be well used, and have your return either in merchandise, or in gold and silver; for to us it is all one. And if you have any other request to make, hide it not, for ye shall find we will not make your countenance to fall by the answer ye shall receive. Only this I must tell you, that none of you must go above a karan" (that is with them a mile and a-half) "from the walls of the city without special leave." We answered, after we had looked awhile upon one another, admiring this gracious and parent-like usage, "That we could not tell what to say, for we wanted words to express our thanks, and his noble free offers left us nothing to ask. It seemed to us that we had before us a picture of our salvation in heaven; for we that were awhile since in the jaws of death, were now brought into a place where we found nothing but consolations. For the commandment laid upon us, we

would fail to obey it, though it was impossible but our hearts should be inflamed to tread further upon this happy and holy ground." We added, "That our tongues should first cleave to the roofs of our mouths ere we should forget either this reverend person, or this whole nation in our prayers." We also most humbly besought him to accept of us as his true servants, by as just a right as ever men on earth were bounden, laying and presenting both our persons and all we had at his feet. He said, "He was a priest, and looked for a priest's reward, which was our brotherly love, and the good of our souls and bodies."[10] So he went from us, not without tears of tenderness in his eyes; and left us also confused with joy and kindness, saying amongst ourselves, "That we were come into a land of angels which did appear to us daily, and present us with comforts which we thought not of, much less expected."

The next day, about ten o'clock, the governor came to us again, and after salutations, said familiarly, "That he was come to visit us," and called for a chair, and sat him down: and being some ten of us (the rest were of the meaner sort, or else gone abroad) sat down with him. And when we were seated, he began thus, "We of this island of Bensalem (for so they call it in their language) have this, that by means of our solitary situation, and

[10] This was a rare priest. Here in England he would probably have been an antipluralist, and desirous of beholding the bishops residing in their dioceses, instead of embroiling the nation by their speeches in the House of Lords.

the laws of secrecy which we have for our travellers, and our rare admission of strangers, we know well most part of the habitable world, and are ourselves unknown. Therefore, because he that knoweth least is fittest to ask questions, it is more reason, for the entertainment of the time, that ye ask me questions than that I ask you." We answered, "That we humbly thanked him that he would give us leave so to do, and that we conceived by the taste we had already, that there was no worldly thing on earth more worthy to be known than the state of that happy land.[11] But, above all," we said, "since that we were met from the several ends of the world, and hoped assuredly that we should meet one day in the kingdom of heaven, for that we were both parts Christians, we desired to know (in respect that land was so remote, and so divided by vast and unknown seas from the land where our Saviour walked on earth,) who was the apostle of that nation, and how it was converted to the faith?" It appeared in his face that he took great contentment in this our ques-

[11] Of which, however, they had hitherto seen little, save its red oranges and good cheer. A man shut up in a quarantine palace, and invited to dine every day with the chief Comptroller of the Customs, or with the Bishop of London, would assuredly conceive there could be no such thing as a half-starved pauper, a beggar, or a hungry labourer, in all England. Lord Bacon's simple mariners were nearly in this predicament. They knew nothing of the country, understood none of its institutions, had no experience among the "meaner sort" of the population; yet, finding all their *own* wants supplied bountifully, they jumped at once, and very naturally, to the conclusion that the whole land must needs be happy.

tion. He said, "Ye knit my heart to you by asking this question in the first place, for it showeth that you 'first seek the kingdom of heaven;' and I shall gladly and briefly satisfy your demand.

"About twenty years after the ascension of our Saviour, it came to pass that there was seen by the people of Renfusa (a city upon the eastern coast of our island,) within sight, (the night was cloudy and calm,) as it might be some miles in the sea, a great pillar of light, not sharp, but in form of a column or cylinder, rising from the sea, a great way up towards heaven, and on the top of it was seen a large cross of light, more bright and resplendent than the body of the pillar: upon which so strange a spectacle the people of the city gathered apace together upon the sands to wonder, and so after put themselves into a number of small boats to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar, they found themselves all bound, and could go no further, yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer; so as the boats stood all as in a theatre, beholding this light as a heavenly sign. It so fell out that there was in one of the boats one of the wise men of the Society of Solomon's House, (which house or college, my good brethren, is the very eye of this kingdom,) who having a while attentively and devoutly viewed and contemplated this pillar and cross, fell down upon his face, and then raised himself upon his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, made his prayers in this manner:

"'Lord God of heaven and earth, thou hast vouchsafed of thy grace to those of our order to know thy works of creation, and true secrets of them, and to discern (as far as appertaineth to the generations of men) between divine miracles, works of nature, works of art, and impostures and illusions of all sorts! I do here acknowledge and testify before this people that the thing we now see before our eyes is thy finger, and a true miracle. And forasmuch as we learn in our books that thou never workest miracles but to a divine and excellent end, (for the laws of nature are thine own laws, and thou exceedest them not but upon good cause,) we most humbly beseech thee to prosper this great sign, and to give us the interpretation and use of it in mercy, which thou dost in some part secretly promise by sending it unto us!'

"When he had made his prayer, he presently found the boat he was in moveable and unbound, whereas all the rest remained still fast; and taking that for an assurance of leave to approach, he caused the boat to be softly and with silence rowed towards the pillar: but ere he came near it, the pillar and cross of light brake up, and cast itself abroad, as it were, into a firmament of many stars; which also vanished soon after, and there was nothing left to be seen but a small ark or chest of cedar, dry, and not wet at all with water, though it swam; and in the fore-end of it, which was towards him, grew a small green branch of palm. And when the wise man had taken it with

all reverence into his boat, it opened of itself, and there was found in it a book and a letter, both written in fine parchment, and wrapped in sindons of linen. The book contained all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, according as you have them, (for we know well what the churches with you receive,) and the Apocalypse itself, and some other books of the New Testament which were not at that time written, were nevertheless in the book. And for the letter, it was in these words:

"'I, Bartholomew, a servant of the Highest, and apostle of Jesus Christ, was warned by an angel that appeared to me in a vision of glory, that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea. Therefore I do testify and declare unto that people where God shall ordain this ark to come to land, that in the same day is come unto them salvation, and peace, and good will from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus.'

"There were also in both these writings, as well the book as the letter, wrought a great miracle, conformable to that of the apostles in the original gift of tongues. For there being at that time in this land Hebrews, Persians, and Indians, besides the natives, every one read upon the book and letter as if they had been written in his own language. And thus was this land saved from infidelity (as the remain of the old world was from water) by an ark, through the apostolical and miraculous evangelism of St. Bartholomew."[12] And here he paused,

[12] There is a certain magnificence in the wild legend that

and a messenger came and called him forth from us. So this was all that passed in that conference.

The next day the same governor came again to us immediately after dinner, and excused himself, saying, "That the day before he was called from us somewhat abruptly, but now he would make us amends, and spend some time with us, if we held his company and conference agreeable." We answered, "That we held it so agreeable and pleasing to us, as we forgot both dangers past and fears to come for the time we heard him speak, and that we thought an hour spent with him was worth years of our former life." He bowed himself a little to us, and after we were set again he said, "Well, the questions are on your part." One of our number said, after a little pause, "There was a matter we were no less desirous to know than fearful to ask, lest we might presume too far; but encouraged by his rare humanity towards us, that we could scarce think ourselves strangers, being his vowed and professed servants, we would take the hardiness to propound it; humbly beseeching him, if he thought it not fit to be answered, that he

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his lordship here relates, of which, as the reader will have observed, there is not a trace in the Utopia. Bacon's imagination was rich and fertile, as is proved by the abundance of his metaphors, and the strange walks into which he often conducts his speculations; but the artful ordering, the proportioning gracefully, and the apt and natural uniting of the several parts of a work of fiction, entered not into his conception of authorship. His philosophy had grazed his mind bare, and left his rhetoric to wander about lank and woe-be-gone.

would pardon it, though he rejected it." We said, "We well observed those his words which he formerly spake, that this happy island where we now stood was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world; which we found to be true, considering they had the languages of Europe, and knew much of our state and business; and yet we in Europe, notwithstanding all the remote discoveries and navigations of this last age, never heard any the least inkling or glimpse of this island. This we found wonderful strange, for that all nations have interknowledge one of another, either by voyage into foreign parts, or by strangers that come to them: and though the traveller into a foreign country, doth commonly know more by the eye than he that stayeth at home can by relation of the traveller, yet both ways suffice to make a mutual knowledge in some degree on both parts. But for this island, we never heard tell of any ship of theirs that had been seen to arrive upon any shore of Europe, no nor of either the East or West Indies, nor yet of any ship of any other part of the world that had made return from them. And yet the marvel rested not in this, for the situation of it, as his lordship said, in the secret conclave of such a vast sea, might cause it: but then, that they should have knowledge of the languages, books, affairs of those that lie such a distance from them, it was a thing we could not tell what to make of; for that it seemed to us a condition and property of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open and

as in a light to them." At this speech the governor gave a gracious smile, and said, "That we did well to ask pardon for this question we now asked, for that it imported as if we thought this land a land of magicians, that sent forth spirits of the air into all parts to bring them news and intelligence of other countries." It was answered by us all in all possible humbleness, but yet with a countenance taking knowledge that we knew that he spake it but merrily, "That we were apt enough to think there was somewhat supernatural in this island, but yet rather as angelical than magical. But to let his lordship know truly what it was that made us tender and doubtful to ask this question, it was not any such conceit, but because we remembered he had given a touch in his former speech, that this land had laws of secrecy touching strangers." To this he said, "You remember it right: and therefore in that I shall say to you, I must reserve some particulars, which it is not lawful for me to reveal; but there will be enough left to give you satisfaction.

"You shall understand, that which perhaps you will scarce think credible, that about three thousand years ago, or somewhat more, the navigation of the world, especially for remote voyages, was greater than at this day.[13] Do not think with your-

[13] It is of course necessary to understand the Atlantic oracle *cum grano;* though certainly the expeditions of Hanno, of Pharaoh Necho, of Nearchus, and others, (rather less indeed than three thousand years ago,) might give some colour to his ideas. His lordship had probably formed juster notions of the

selves that I know not how much it is increased with you within these threescore years; I know it well: and yet I say, greater then than now. Whether it was that the example of the ark that saved the remnant of men from the universal deluge, gave men confidence to adventure upon the waters, or what it was, but such is the truth. The Phœnicians, and especially the Tyrians, had great fleets: so had the Carthaginians their colony, which is yet further west. Toward the east the shipping of Egypt and of Palestina was likewise great; China also, and the great Atlantis, that you call America, which have now but junks and canoes, abounded then in tall ships. This island, as appeareth by faithful registers of those times, had then fifteen hundred strong ships of great content. Of all this there is with you sparing memory or none, but we have large knowledge thereof.

"At that time this land was known and frequented by the ships and vessels of all the nations before named, and, as it cometh to pass, they had many times men of other countries that were no sailors that came with them, as Persians, Chal-

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fleets and navigations of the Tyrians, Carthaginians, and other commercial nations of antiquity, than we of the present age entertain. Men were in his time less removed from the condition, in naval affairs, of those industrious and enterprising people, and consequently less disdainful of their arts. From the deck of a hundred-and-twenty gun ship, we are apt to look down with scorn on the war-galleys and smaller merchant ships of the old world—forgetting sometimes, perhaps, that they *had* built ships larger than any ever used in modern times.

deans, Arabians; so as almost all nations of might and fame resorted hither, of whom we have some stirps and little tribes with us at this day. And for our own ships, they went sundry voyages, as well to your straits, which you call the Pillars of Hercules, as to other parts in the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas; as to Pegu, which is the same with Cambalu, and Quinsay upon the Oriental seas, as far as to the borders of East Tartary.

"At the same time, and an age after or more, the inhabitants of the great Atlantis did flourish. For though the narration and description which is made by a great man[14] with you, of the descendants of Neptune planted there, and of the magnificent temple, palace, city, and hill, and the manifold streams of goodly navigable rivers which (as so many chains) environed the same site and temple, and the several degrees of ascent whereby men did climb up to the same, as if it had been a

[14] Plato, in whose Critias all these marvellous descriptions may be seen. It sometimes seems to me not a little extraordinary that persons roaming through literature in search of pleasure, should so seldom enter upon the domains of this Archimago, where so many magical sights and shows abound. Spenser is not more fanciful, Shakspeare not more imaginative, Milton not more sublime. Our ancestors differed from us on this point. The traces of Plato are everywhere visible upon their thoughts, whether they philosophize, or launch forth into the wilds of fiction. There was a statue of Eros in the groves of the Academy, and he appears to have waved his wings, and shed his "purple light" over the language of Plato, and this may possibly constitute the spell which he casts on all who attain to know him. He can be an object of indifference only to strangers.

scala cœli, be all poetical and fabulous; yet so much is true, that the said country of Atlantis, as well as that of Peru, then called Coya, as that of Mexico, then named Tyrambel, were mighty and proud kingdoms in arms, shipping, and riches; so mighty, as at one time (or at least within the space of ten years) they both made two great expeditions; they of Tyrambel through the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea, and they of Coya, through the South Sea, upon this our island. And for the former of these, which was into Europe, the same author amongst you (as it seemeth) had some relation from the Egyptian priest whom he citeth, for assuredly such a thing there was. But whether it were the ancient Athenians that had the glory of the repulse and resistance of those forces, I can say nothing; but certain it is, there never came back either ship or man from that voyage. Neither had the other voyage of those of Coya upon us had better fortune, if they had not met with enemies of greater clemency. For the king of this island, (by name Altabin,) a wise man and a great warrior, knowing well both his own strength and that of his enemies, handled the matter so, as he cut off their land-forces from their ships, and entoiled both their navy and their camp with a greater power than theirs, both by sea and land, and compelled them to render themselves without striking stroke; and after they were at his mercy, contenting himself only with their oath that they should no more bear arms against him, dismissed them all in safety. But the Divine revenge overtook not long

after those proud enterprises; for within less than the space of one hundred years, the great Atlantis was utterly lost and destroyed, not by a great earthquake, as your man saith, [15] (for that whole tract is little subject to earthquakes,) but by a particular deluge or inundation, those countries having at this day far greater rivers, and far higher mountains to pour down waters, than any part of the old world. But it is true, that the same inunda tion was not deep, not past forty foot in most places from the ground; so that although it destroyed man and beast generally, yet some few wild inhabitants of the wood escaped: birds also were saved by flying to the high trees and woods. For as for men, although they had buildings in many places higher than the depth of the water, yet that inundation, though it were shallow, had a long continuance, whereby they of the vale that were not drowned, perished for want of food, and other things necessary. So as marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people, for you must account your inhabitants of America as a young people,

[15] Here I will take the "man's" word in preference to the Atlantean priest's. The western coast of America is liable still more than the western coast of Europe to the shock of earthquakes. Indeed, it might almost be said that the earthquake has its home among the Andes, where it has, within the memory of men now living, wrought fearful havoc, and effected wonderful changes in the aspect of the globe. For an account of some of these, the reader may be referred to Von Humboldt's description of the country round Chimborazo, whose unscaleable peak a bold party of travellers some years ago attempted to ascend.

younger a thousand years at the least than the rest of the world, for that there was so much time between the universal flood and their particular inundation. For the poor remnant of human seed which remained in their mountains, peopled the country again slowly by little and little; and being simple and a savage people, (not like Noah and his sons,[16] which was the chief family of the earth,) they were not able to leave letters, arts, and civility to their posterity. And having likewise, in their mountainous habitations been used (in respect of the extreme cold of those regions) to clothe themselves with the skins of tigers,[17] bears, and great hairy goats that they have in those parts; when after they came down into the valley, and found the intolerable heats which are there, and knew no means of lighter apparel, they were forced to begin the custom of going naked, which continueth at this day: only they take great pride and delight in the feathers of birds; and this also they took from those their ancestors of the mountains, who were invited unto it by the infinite flight of birds that came up to the high grounds while the waters stood below. So you see by this main accident of time we lost our traffic with the Americans, with whom, of all others, in regard they lay nearest to us, we had most commerce. As for the

[16] His lordship's brevity here borders on obscurity. Were the aboriginal Americans, in his opinion, of a race different from the Noachidæ?

[17] The tiger is not a native of the American continent; but this had not been ascertained in Bacon's time.

other parts of the world, it is most manifest that in the ages following (whether it were in respect of wars, or by a natural revolution of time,) navigation did everywhere greatly decay, and especially far voyages (the rather by the use of galleys and such vessels as could hardly brook the ocean) were altogether left and omitted. So then, that part of intercourse which could be from other nations to sail to us, you see how it hath long since ceased, except it were by some rare accident, as this of yours. But now of the cessation of that other part of intercourse, which might be by our sailing to other nations, I must yield you some other cause; for I cannot say (if I would say truly) but our shipping for number, strength, mariners, pilots, and all things that appertain to navigation, is as great as ever; and therefore why we should sit at home I shall now give you an account by itself, and it will draw nearer to give you satisfaction to your principal question.

"There reigned in this island, about one thousand nine hundred years ago, a king, whose memory of all others we most adore, not superstitiously, but as a divine instrument, though a mortal man: his name was Salomona, and we esteem him as the lawgiver of our nation. This king had a large heart, inscrutable for good, and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy. He therefore, taking into consideration how sufficient and substantive this land was to maintain itself without any aid at all of the foreigner, being five thousand six hundred miles in circuit, and of rare

fertility of soil in the greatest part thereof; and finding also the shipping of this country might be plentifully set on work, both by fishing and by transportations from port to port, and likewise by sailing unto some small islands that are not from us, and are under the crown and laws of this state, and recalling into his memory the happy and flourishing estate wherein this land then was, so as it might be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better; thought nothing wanted to his noble and heroical intentions, but only (as far as human foresight might reach) to give perpetuity to that which was in his time so happily established: therefore amongst his other fundamental laws of this kingdom he did ordain the interdicts and prohibitions which we have touching the entrance of strangers, which at that time (though it was after the calamity of America) was frequent, doubting novelties and commixture of manners. It is true, the like law against the admission of strangers without license is an ancient law in the kingdom of China, and yet continued in use; but there it is a poor thing, and hath made them a curious, ignorant, fearful, foolish nation. But our lawgiver made his law of another temper. For, first, he hath preserved all points of humanity, in taking order and making provision for the relief of strangers distressed, whereof you have tasted." At which speech, as reason was, we all rose up and bowed ourselves. He went on. "That king also still desiring to join humanity and policy together, and thinking it against humanity to detain stran-

gers here against their wills, and against policy, that they should return and discover their knowledge of this state, he took this course. He did ordain, that of the strangers that should be permitted to land, as many, at all times, might depart as would, but as many as would stay should have very good conditions and means to live from the state. Wherein he saw so far, that now in so many ages since the prohibition we have memory not of one ship that ever returned, and but of thirteen persons only at several times that chose to return in our bottoms. What those few that returned may have reported abroad, I know not; but you must think, whatsoever they have said could be taken where they came but for a dream. Now for our travelling from hence into parts abroad, our lawgiver thought fit altogether to restrain it. So is it not in China, for the Chinese sail where they will, or can; which showeth that their law of keeping out strangers is a law of pusillanimity and fear. But this restraint of ours hath one only exception, which is admirable, preserving the good which cometh by communicating with strangers, and avoiding the hurt, and I will now open it to you. And here I shall seem a little to digress, but you will by and by find it pertinent. You shall understand, my dear friends, that amongst the excellent acts of that king one above all hath the preeminence: it was the erection and institution of an order or society, which we call Solomon's House, the noblest foundation (as we think) that ever was upon the earth, and the lantern of this kingdom.

It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some think it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Salomon's house, but the records write it as it is spoken; so as I take it to be denominate of the king of the Hebrews, which is famous with you, and no stranger to us, for we have some parts of his works which with you are lost, namely, that natural history which he wrote of all plants, from the cedar of Lebanon to the moss that groweth out of the wall, and of all things that have life and motion. This maketh me think that our king finding himself to symbolize in many things with that king of the Hebrews (which lived many years before him) honoured him with the title of this foundation. And I am the rather induced to be of this opinion, for that I find in ancient records this order or society is sometimes called Solomon's House, and sometimes the College of the Six Days' Works; whereby I am satisfied that our excellent king had learned from the Hebrews that God had created the world and all that therein is within six days, and therefore he instituting that house for the finding out of the true nature of all things, (whereby God might have the more glory in the workmanship of them, and men the more fruit in their use of them,) did give it also that second name. But now, to come to our present purpose. When the king had forbidden to all his people navigation in any part that was not under his crown, he made nevertheless this ordinance, that every twelve years there should be set forth

out of this kingdom two ships appointed to several voyages; that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Solomon's House, whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed, and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns in every kind: that the ships, after they had landed the brethren, should return, and that the brethren should stay abroad till the new mission. The ships are not otherwise fraught than with store of victuals, and good quantity of treasure, to remain with the brethren for the buying of such things and rewarding of such persons as they should think fit. Now for me to tell you how the vulgar sort of mariners are contained from being discovered at land, and how they that must be put on shore for any time colour themselves under the names of other nations, and to what places these voyages have been designed, and what places of rendezvous are appointed for the new missions, and the like circumstances of the practice, I may not do it, neither is it much to your desire. But thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter, but only for God's first creature, which was light; to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world."

And when he had said this he was silent, and so were we all; for indeed we were all astonished

to hear so strange things so probably told. And he, perceiving that we were willing to say somewhat, but had it not ready, in great courtesy took us off, and descended to ask us questions of our voyage and fortunes; and in the end concluded, that we might do well to think with ourselves what time of stay we would demand of the state; and bade us not to scant ourselves, for he would procure such time as we desired. Whereupon we all rose up and presented ourselves to kiss the skirt of his tippet; but he would not suffer us, and so took his leave. But when it came once amongst our people, that the state used to offer conditions to strangers that would stay, we had work enough to get any of our men to look to our ship, and to keep them from going presently to the governor to crave conditions; but with much ado we refrained them till we might agree what course to take.

We took ourselves now for freemen, seeing there was no danger of our utter perdition, and lived most joyfully, going abroad, and seeing what was to be seen in the city and places adjacent within our tedder, and obtaining acquaintance with many of the city, not of the meanest quality, at whose hands we found such humanity, and such a freedom and desire to take strangers as it were into their bosom, as was enough to make us forget all that was dear to us in our own countries, and continually we met with many things right worthy of observation and relation; as indeed, if there be a mirror in the world worthy to hold men's eyes

it is that country. One day there were two of our company bidden to a feast of the family, as they call it; a most natural, pious, and reverend custom it is, showing that nation to be compounded of all goodness. This is the manner of it: it is granted to any man that shall live to see thirty persons descended of his body alive together, and all above three years old, to make this feast, which is done at the cost of the state. The father of the family, whom they call the tirsan, two days before the feast, taketh to him three of such friends as he liketh to choose, and is assisted also by the governor of the city or place where the feast is celebrated; and all the persons of the family of both sexes are summoned to attend him. These two days the tirsan sitteth in consultation concerning the good estate of the family. There, if there be any discord or suits between any of the family, they are compounded and appeased; there, if any of the family be distressed or decayed, order is taken for their relief, and competent means to live; there, if any be subject to vice or take ill courses, they are reproved and censured. So likewise, direction is given touching marriages, and the courses of life which any of them should take, with divers other the like orders and advices. The governor assisteth to the end, to put in execution by his public authority the decrees and orders of the tirsan, if they should be disobeyed, though that seldom needeth; such reverence and obedience they give to the order of nature. The tirsan doth also then ever choose one man from amongst

his sons to live in house with him, who is called ever after the son of the vine; the reason will hereafter appear. On the feast-day the father or tirsan cometh forth, after divine service, into a large room where the feast is celebrated, which room hath an half-pace at the upper end. Against the wall, in the middle of the half-pace, is a chair placed for him, with a table and carpet before it: over the chair is a state made round or oval, and it is of ivy; an ivy somewhat whiter than ours, like the leaf of a silver asp, but more shining, for it is green all winter. And the state is curiously wrought with silver and silk of divers colours, broiding or binding in the ivy, and is ever of the work of some of the daughters of the family, and veiled over at the top with a fine net of silk and silver: but the substance of it is true ivy, whereof, after it is taken down, the friends of the family are desirous to have some leaf or sprig to keep. The tirsan cometh forth with all his generation or lineage, the males before him, and the females following him. And if there be a mother from whose body the whole lineage is descended, there is a traverse placed in a loft above on the right hand of the chair, with a private door, and a carved window of glass, leaded with gold and blue, where she sitteth, but is not seen. [17] When the tirsan is come

[16] What the object of this seclusion of the mother of the family could be, I am unable to conjecture, since the young women were freely introduced among their brethren. Perhaps it may have been designed to conceal the ravages of years, to give rise in the minds of the spectators to an idea of beauty, which her appear-

forth, he sitteth down in the chair, and all the lineage place themselves against the wall, both at his back, and upon the return of the half-pace, in order of their years, without difference of sex, and stand upon their feet. When he is set, the room being always full of company, but well kept, and without disorder, after some pause there cometh in from the lower end of the room a taratan, (which is as much as an herald,) and on either side of him two young lads, whereof one carrieth a scroll of their shining yellow parchment, and the other a cluster of grapes of gold, with a long foot or stalk; the herald and children are clothed with mantles of sea-water green satin, but the herald's mantle is streamed with gold, and hath a train. Then the herald with three courtesies, or rather inclinations, cometh up as far as the half-pace, and there first taketh into his hand the scroll. This scroll is the king's charter, containing gift of revenue, and many privileges, exemptions, and points of honour granted to the father of the family; and it is ever styled and directed, to such an one, our well-beloved friend and creditor, which is a title proper only to this case; for they say, the king is debtor to no man, but for propagation of his subjects. The seal set to the king's charter is the king's image, embossed or moulded in gold. And though

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ance might have destroyed; since old age in women is often more observable than in men. Whatever his lordship's idea may have been, however, I think the practice less venerable than it would have been to place the aged pair on contiguous thrones, to receive together the homage of their offspring.

such charters be expedited of course, and as of right, yet they are varied by discretion, according to the number and dignity of the family. This charter the herald readeth aloud; and while it is read, the father or tirsan standeth up, supported by two of his sons, such as he chooseth. Then the herald mounteth the half-pace, and delivereth the charter into his hand, and with that there is an acclamation by all that are present in their language, which is thus much, "Happy are the people of Bensalem." Then the herald taketh into his hand from the other child the cluster of grapes, which is of gold, both the stalk and the grapes, but the grapes are daintily enamelled; and if the males of the family be the greater number, the grapes are enamelled purple, with a little sun set on the top; if the females, then they are enamelled into a greenish yellow, with a crescent on the top. The grapes are in number as many as there are descendants of the family. This golden cluster the herald delivereth also to the tirsan, who presently delivereth it over to that son that he had formerly chosen to be in house with him, who beareth it before his father as an ensign of honour when he goeth in public ever after, and is thereupon called the son of the vine. After this ceremony ended, the father or tirsan retireth, and after some time cometh forth again to dinner, where he sitteth alone under the state as before; and none of his descendants sit with him, of what degree or dignity soever, except he hap to be of Solomon's House. He is served only by his own childreu,

such as are male, who perform unto him all service of the table upon the knee, and the women only stand about him, leaning against the wall. The room below his half-pace hath tables on the sides for the guests that are bidden, who are served with great and comely order; and toward the end of dinner, which in the greatest feasts with them lasteth never above an hour and a half, there is a hymn sung, varied according to the invention of him that composed it, (for they have excellent poetry,) but the subject of it is always the praises of Adam, and Noah, and Abraham; whereof the former two peopled the world,[19] and the last was the father of the faithful: concluding ever with a thanksgiving for the nativity of our Saviour, in whose birth the births of all are only blessed. Dinner being done, the tirsan retireth again, and having withdrawn himself alone into a place where he maketh some private prayers, he cometh forth the third time to give the blessing, with all his descendants, who stand about him as at the first.

[19] Lord Bacon entertained no respect for those doctrines of political economy, according to which a principal merit of legislators consists in checking population; that is, in building a new Tower of Babel, to save ourselves from a human inundation. There are, no doubt, stages of society in which men learn to regard each other with wolfish eyes, and sigh for a thinner crop of brethren; but this never happens until the heart is literally diseased by cupidity and selfishness. It is not that the world is too small to contain its inhabitants; but that some people take up more room than belongs to them, in illustration of which Swift, in his rough way, tells a very good story. "A mountebank, in Leicester-fields, had drawn a huge assembly about him. Among the rest, a fat unwieldy fellow, half stifled

Then he calleth them forth by one and by one by name, as he pleaseth, though seldom the order of age be inverted. The person that is called, the table being before removed, kneeleth down before the chair, and the father layeth his hand upon his head, or her head, and giveth the blessing in these words: "Son of Bensalem, or daughter of Bensalem, thy father saith it, the man by whom thou hast breath and life speaketh the word; the blessing of the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace, and the Holy Dove be upon thee and make the days of thy pilgrimage good and many." This he saith to every of them: and that done, if there be any of his sons of eminent merit and virtue, so they be not above two, he calleth for them again, and sayeth, laying his arm over their shoulders, they standing, "Sons, it is well you are born; give God the praise, and persevere to the end:" and withal delivereth to either of them a jewel, made in the figure of an ear of wheat, which they ever after wear in the front of their turban or hat. This

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in the press, would be every fit crying out, 'Lord! what a filthy crowd is here! Pray, good people, give way a little. Bless me, what a devil has raked this rabble together! Zounds, what squeezing is this! Honest friend, remove your elbow.' At last a weaver that stood next him, could hold out no longer. 'A plague confound you,' said he, 'for an overgrown sloven: and who, in the devil's name, I wonder, helps to make up the crowd half so much as yourself? Don't you consider that you take up more room with that carcass than any five here? Is not the place as free for me as for you? Bring your own guts to a reasonable compass, and be damned, and then I'll engage we shall have room enough for us all!'"—*Preface to the Tale of a Tub*, p. 32.

done, they fall to music and dances, and other recreations after their manner, for the rest of the day. This is the full order of that feast.

By that time six or seven days were spent, I was fallen into strait acquaintance with a merchant of that city, whose name was Joabin: he was a Jew, and circumcised, for they have some few stirps of Jews yet remaining among them, whom they leave to their own religion, which they may the better do, because they are of a far differing disposition from the Jews in other parts. For whereas they hate the name of Christ, and have a secret inbred rancour against the people among whom they live; these contrariwise give unto our Saviour many high attributes, and love the nation of Bensalem extremely. Surely this man of whom I speak, would ever acknowledge that Christ was born of a virgin, and that he was more than a man; and he would tell how God made him ruler of the seraphims which guard his throne: and they call him also the Milken Way, and the Eliah of the Messiah, and many other high names; which though they be inferior to his Divine Majesty, yet they are far from the language of other Jews. And for the country of Bensalem, this man would make no end of commending it, being desirous, by tradition among the Jews there, to have it believed, that the people thereof were of the generations of Abraham by another son, whom they call Nachoran; and that Moses by a secret cabala ordained the laws of Bensalem, which they now use; and that when the Messiah should come and sit in his

throne at Jerusalem, the king of Bensalem should sit at his feet, whereas other kings should keep at a great distance. But yet, setting aside these Jewish dreams, the man was a wise man and learned, and of great policy, and excellently seen in the laws and customs of that nation. Amongst other discourses, one day I told him, I was much affected with the relation I had from some of the company, of their custom in holding the feast of the family, for that methought I had never heard of a solemnity wherein nature did so much preside. And because propagation of families proceedeth from the nuptial copulation, I desired to know of him what laws and customs they had concerning marriage, and whether they kept marriage well, and whether they were tied to one wife. For that where population is so much affected, and such as with them it seemed to be, there is commonly permission of plurality of wives.[20] To this he said, "You have reason to commend that excellent institution of the feast of the family; and indeed we have experience that those families that are partakers of the blessings of that feast do flourish and prosper ever

[20] In certain circumstances, or among a simple people, polygamy might prove a means of increasing the population. There are instances in the East of men with seventy or eighty children, all living, and arriving at man's estate; and in the primitive times the practice tended to the more rapid peopling of the earth. But, among nations civilized or half-civilized, where luxury and idleness prevail, its operation would be different. In fact, Turks with four wives have commonly fewer children than their neighbours who are content with one; and the causes are obvious.

after in an extraordinary manner. But hear me now, and I will tell you what I know. You shall understand that there is not under the heavens so chaste a nation as this of Bensalem, nor so free from all pollution or foulness; it is the virgin of the world. I remember I have read in one of your European books, of an holy hermit amongst you that desired to see the spirit of fornication, and there appeared to him a little foul ugly Ethiop. But if he had desired to see the spirit of chastity of Bensalem, it would have appeared to him in the likeness of a fair beautiful cherubim; for there is nothing amongst mortal men more fair and admirable than the chaste minds of this people. Know therefore that with them there are no stews, no dissolute houses, no courtezans, nor anything of that kind; nay, they wonder with detestation at you in Europe which permit such things. They say you have put marriage out of office; for marriage is ordained a remedy for unlawful concupiscence, and natural concupiscence seemeth as a spur to marriage:[21] but when men have at hand a remedy more agreeable to their corrupt will, marriage is almost expulsed. And therefore there are with you seen infinite men that marry not, but choose rather a libertine and impure single life than to be yoked in marriage; and many that do marry, marry late, when the prime and strength

[21] On this subject the reader will do well to consult Milton's "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," more particularly chapters iv. v. and xxi.

of their years is past; and when they do marry, what is marriage to them but a very bargain, wherein is sought alliance, or portion, or reputation, with some desire almost indifferent of issue, and not the faithful nuptial union of man and wife that was first instituted. Neither is it possible that those that have cast away so basely so much of their strength, should greatly esteem children, being of the same matter, as chaste men do. So neither during marriage is the case much amended, as it ought to be if those things were tolerated only for necessity. No, but they remain still as a very affront to marriage; the haunting of those dissolute places, or resort to courtezans, are no more punished in married men than in bachelors: and the depraved custom of change, and the delight in meretricious embracements, where sin is turned into art, maketh marriage a dull thing, and a kind of imposition or tax.[21] They hear you defend these things as done to avoid greater evils, as advoutries, deflowering of virgins, unnatural lust, and the like: but they say this is a preposterous wisdom, and they call it Lot's offer, who to save his guests from abusing, offered his daughters. Nay, they say further, that there is

[22] Again, see Milton in the work above quoted, chapter iii. In this treatise of the great poet, glowing with imagery, bordering in many places on the wild sublimity of the Dithyrambic ode, the reader will find nobler, and therefore truer notions of love, than any other writer, ancient or modern, has given utterance to. The question is further considered in the "Tetrachordon," where, in commenting on four texts of Scripture, Milton gives free scope both to his imagination and his logical acuteness, nowhere, perhaps, more visible.

little gained in this, for that the same vices and appetites do still remain and abound, unlawful lust being like a furnace, that if you stop the flames altogether, it will quench, but if you give it any vent, it will rage. As for masculine love, they have no touch of it; and yet there are not so faithful and inviolate friendships in the world again as are there: and to speak generally, as I said before, I have not read of any such chastity in any people as theirs. And their usual saying is, that whosoever is unchaste cannot reverence himself. And they say, that the reverence of a man's self is, next religion, the chiefest bridle of all vices." [23] And when he had said this, the good Jew paused a little. Whereupon I, far more willing to hear him speak on than to speak myself, yet thinking it decent that upon his pause of speech I should not be altogether silent, said only this, "That I would say to him as the widow of Sarepta said to Elias, that he was come to bring to memory our sins; and that I confess the righteousness of Bensalem was greater than the righteousness of Europe." At which speech he bowed his

[23] This is so true, that even without the aid of visible religion, some great men have maintained their fealty to virtue. Among vulgar moralists, nevertheless, it is customary to mistake the nature of self-respect, which they confound with pride, though no two things can at bottom be more dissimilar. The wise man respects himself as the workmanship of God, as one of those for whom Christ suffered; the proud man, because he discovers in his own character or condition something superior to what his neighbour possesses. And unquestionably the latter thinks and judges very differently from the former.

head, and went on in this manner: "They have also many wise and excellent laws touching marriage. They allow no polygamy. They have ordained that none do intermarry or contract until a month be past from their first interview. Marriage without consent of parents they do not make void, but they mulct it in the inheritors; for the children of such marriages are not admitted to inherit above a third part of their parents' inheritance.[24] I have read in a book of one of your men of a feigned commonwealth, where the married couple are permitted, before they contract, to see one another naked.[25] This they dislike, for they think it a

[24] An act of injustice, which while aimed at the parents strikes only the children. It is not a little surprising that, when about to propose a reformation of laws, men should so pertinaciously cling to palpable wrong.

[25] The "feigned Commonwealth" here glanced at, the reader will discover to be no other than the "Utopia," in which, p. 143 of the present volume, the regulation here condemned is found. It strikes me that his lordship has by no means improved upon Sir Thomas More; but, on the contrary, for a bad practice has substituted a worse. Very little of the unhappiness of marriage ever springs from defects of the person. It is the character that, if possible, men should be anxious to behold naked. It is in that the deformity is likely to lie that shall blast their hopes, and render their days cheerless, and life itself a burden. Familiarity, which dissipates the illusion of a beautiful face, when the face alone is beautiful, actually confers beauty on a plain one, if the mind within be lovely. Projects such as the above, therefore, must be regarded as mere fantastic vagaries, unworthy of their authors; though history furnishes examples of men who reduced the theory of our polity-builders to practice. Thus "Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, was so curious in this behalf, as old Burton remarks, that he would not marry the Duke of Mantua's daughter, except he might see her naked first."—*Anatomy of Melancholy*, II. 472.

scorn to give a refusal after so familiar knowledge: but because of many hidden defects in men and women's bodies, they have a more civil way; for they have near every town a couple of pools, which they call Adam and Eve's pools, where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman, to see them severally bathe naked."

And as we were thus in conference, there came one that seemed to be a messenger, in a rich huke, that spake with the Jew; whereupon, he turned to me, and said, "You will pardon me, for I am commanded away in haste."

The next morning he came to me again, joyful, as it seemed, and said, "There is word come to the governor of the city that one of the fathers of Solomon's House will be here this day seven-night; we have seen none of them this dozen years. His coming is in state, but the cause of his coming is secret. I will provide you and your fellows of a good standing to see his entry." I thanked him and told him, "I was most glad of the news."

The day being come, he made his entry. He was a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as if he pitied men. He was clothed in a robe of fine black cloth, with wide sleeves and a cape: his under garment was of excellent white linen down to the foot, girt with a girdle of the same, and a sindon or tippet of the same about his neck: he had gloves that were curious, and set with stone, and shoes of peach-coloured velvet; his neck was bare to the shoul-

ders: his hat was like a helmet or Spanish montera, and his locks curled below it decently, they were of colour brown: his beard was cut round, and of the same colour with his hair, somewhat lighter.[25] He was carried in a rich chariot, without wheels, litter-wise, with two horses at either end, richly trapped in blue velvet embroidered, and two footmen on either side in the like attire. The chariot was all of cedar, gilt, and adorned with crystal, save that the fore-end had pannels of sapphires set in borders of gold, and the hinder end the like of emeralds of the Peru colour. There was also a sun of gold, radiant upon the top, in the midst; and on the top before a small cherub of gold, with wings displayed. The chariot was covered with cloth of gold, tissued upon blue. He had before him fifty attendants, young men all, in white satin loose coats up to the mid-leg, and stockings of white silk, and shoes of blue velvet, and hats of blue velvet, with fine plumes of divers colours set round like hatbands. Next before the chariot went two men bare-headed, in linen garments down to the foot, girt, and shoes of blue velvet, who carried the one a crosier, the other a pastoral-staff like a sheep-hook, neither of them of metal, but the crosier of balm-wood, the pastoral staff of cedar. Horsemen he had none, neither before nor behind his chariot, as it seemeth, to avoid all tumult and trouble. Behind his cha-

[25] And yet, as Lord Bacon must have been aware, the beard is usually darker than the hair.

riot went all the officers and principals of the companies of the city. He sat alone upon cushions of a kind of excellent plush, blue, and under his foot curious carpets of silk of divers colours, like the Persian, but far finer. He held up his bare hand as he went, as blessing the people, but in silence. The street was so wonderfully well kept, so that there was never any army had their men stand in better battle-array than the people stood. The windows likewise were not crowded, but every one stood in them as if they had been placed. When the show was past, the Jew said to me, "I shall not be able to attend you as I would, in regard of some charge the city hath laid upon me, for the entertaining of this great person."

Three days after, the Jew came to me again, and said, "Ye are happy men! for the father of Solomon's House taketh knowledge of your being here, and commanded me to tell you, that he will admit all your company to his presence, and have private conference with one of you that ye shall choose; and for this hath appointed the next day after to-morrow. And, because he meaneth to give you his blessing, he hath appointed it in the forenoon."

We came at our day and hour, and I was chosen by my fellows for the private access. We found him in a fair chamber, richly hung, and carpeted under foot, without any degrees to the state.[25] He was seated upon a low throne richly adorned, and a rich cloth of state over his head of blue satin,

[25] That is, without any steps.

embroidered. He was alone, save that he had two pages of honour, on either hand, one finely attired in white. His under-garments were the like that we saw him wear in the chariot; but instead of his gown, he had on him a mantle, with a cape of the same fine black, fastened about him. When we came in, as we were taught, we bowed low at our first entrance; and when we were come near his chair, he stood up, holding forth his hand ungloved, and in posture of blessing; and we every one of us stooped down and kissed the hem of his tippet. That done, the rest departed, and I remained. Then he warned the pages forth of the room, and caused me to sit down beside him, and spake to me thus in the Spanish tongue:—

"God bless thee, my son, I will give thee the greatest jewel I have; for I will impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Solomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Solomon's House, I will keep this order:—first, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation; secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our works; thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned; and fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe.

"The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things,[28] and the en-

[28] Solomon's House, therefore, was simply a college, instituted for the study of natural philosophy. Lord Bacon evidently experienced the influence of his own favourite pursuit, in erecting

larging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.

"The preparations and instruments are these. We have large and deep caves of several depths: the deepest are sunk six hundred fathoms, and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains; so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill and the depth of the cave, they are (some of them) above three miles deep: for we find that the depth of a hill and the depth of a cave from the flat is the same thing, both remote alike from the sun and heaven's beams and from the open air. These caves we call 'the lower region,' and we use them for all coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines, and the producing also of new artificial metals, by compositions and materials which we use and lay there for many years. We use them also sometimes (which may seem strange) for curing of some diseases,[29] and for prolongation

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the platform of his imaginary state; since he brings so early and prominently forward what had better, perhaps, have been reserved for an after part of the work. Had the whole design been completed, this college would no doubt have deserved to be described incidentally; but, if the whole fiction was invented simply as a frame in which to set this not over-valuable gem, it must be acknowledged that great men sometimes run into extravagancies, no less than their inferiors.

[29] It was with a view to expose the extravagance of such under-ground sweating apartments, that the description of Mr. Bailey's Sicilian cavern was introduced into "Margaret Ravenscroft." Lord Bacon himself suspected that the notion would

of life in some hermits that choose to live there, well accommodated of all things necessary, and, indeed, live very long; by whom also we learn many things.

"We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, as the Chinese do their porcelain; but we have them in greater variety, and some of them finer. We also have great variety of composts and soils for making of the earth fruitful.

"We have high towers, the highest about half-a-mile in height,[30] and some of them likewise set upon high mountains, so that the advantage of the hill with the tower is, in the highest of them, three miles at least. And these places we call 'the upper region,' accounting the air between the high places and the low as a 'middle region.' We use these towers, according to their several heights and

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"seem strange;" but nevertheless overcame his repugnance to the strangeness, for the purpose of exhibiting a company of underground hermits, burying themselves alive in search of longevity. Nay, more, it did not seem strange to his lordship that these cave-dwellers should be able to instruct those above ground; and, in fact, a man shut up in a hole, would be able to collect from the small cluster of circumstances around him, some few particulars new to the rest of mankind.

[30] An honest German, named Etzler, has put forward in a little volume of his, still more splendid inventions than are here described. He has a notion that we may build habitable islands on a large scale, with towns, gardens, forests, &c., upon them; and in these comfortable contrivances, float over the ocean unrocked, and unconscious of sea-sickness. The only obstacle to the construction of these floating Paradises, which are the next step to Gulliver's flying-island, is the few millions it would cost. Otherwise nothing would be more easy.

situations, for insolation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors, as winds, rain, snow, hail, and some of the fiery meteors also. And upon them, in some places, are dwellings of hermits, whom we visit sometimes, and instruct what to observe.

"We have great lakes, both salt and fresh, whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them also for burials of some natural bodies; for we find a difference in things buried in earth, or in air below the earth, and things buried in water. We have also pools of which some do strain fresh water out of salt, and others by art do turn fresh water into salt.[31] We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea, and some bays upon the shore for some works wherein are required the air, and vapour of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions; and likewise engines for multiplying and enforcing of winds, to set also agoing divers motions.

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[31] In one of the Channel Islands a plan has been recently formed, not indeed for converting salt water into fresh, but for converting sea-fish into fresh-water fish. Large sheets of water near the shore, formerly entered by the tide, have been dammed off, and several kinds of fish, hitherto found only in the sea, introduced. The experiment is too recent to allow of a final judgment's being passed upon it; but Sir Francis Head, to whose "Home Tour" we are indebted for a very interesting account of it, witnessed the taking of several of the young colonists, which he afterwards aided in demolishing. The flavour, he says, appeared no way inferior to that of similar fish caught in salt water; so that it may be presumed that the scheme will be attended by complete success.

"We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths; as tincted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel, brass, lead, nitre, and other minerals. And again, we have little wells for infusions of many things, where the waters take the virtue quicker and better than in vessels or basins. And amongst them we have a water which we call 'water of paradise,' being by that we do to it made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.[32]

"We have also great and spacious houses where we imitate and demonstrate meteors, as snow, hail, rain, some artificial rains of bodies, and not of water, thunders, lightnings; also generations of bodies in air, as frogs, flies, and divers others.

"We have also certain chambers which we call 'chambers of health,' where we qualify the air, as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases, and preservation of health.

"We have also fair and large baths, of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases, and the restoring of man's body from arefaction; and others for the confirming of it in strength of sinews, vital parts, and the very juice and substance of the body.

"We have also large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty

[32] The Chinese, also, have an essence which may very properly be called the "water of paradise," since it shortens the passage thither of all who take it. Philosophy acknowledges but one elixir of life, which being within every one's reach is seldom used—I mean *temperance*. Every other means of lengthening the span of human existence is as puerile as it is useless.

as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs; and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we make divers kinds of drinks, besides the vineyards. In these we practise likewise all conclusions of grafting and inoculating, as well of wild trees as fruit-trees, which produceth many effects. And we make, by art, in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers to come earlier or later than their seasons, and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do; we make them also, by art, much greater than their nature, and their fruit greater and sweeter, and of differing taste, smell, colour, and figure from their nature; and many of them we so order that they become of medicinal use.[33]

"We have also means to make divers plants rise by mixtures of earths without seeds; and likewise to make divers new plants differing from the vulgar, and to make one tree or plant turn into another.[34]

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[33] In this way the wild fruits of the earth were originally reclaimed, and rendered useful. Gardening is now conversant with innumerable arts for extending the dominion of man over the vegetable kingdom; and in process of time our empire will, no doubt, be still further extended.

[34] I have nowhere seen so remarkable a proof of what may be effected in this way as in the gardens of Boghos Bey, at Alexandria. "Here I was shown a very extraordinary fruit-tree, produced by a process highly ingenious. They take three seeds,—the citron, the lemon, and the orange,—and carefully removing the external cuticle from both sides of one of them, and from one side of the two others, place the former between the latter, and, binding the three together with fine grass, plant them in

"We have also parks and inclosures of all sorts of beasts and birds; which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby we may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man; wherein we find many strange effects: as, continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished and taken forth; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance, and the like. We try also all poisons and other medicines upon them,[35] as well of surgery as physic. By art likewise we make them greater or taller than their kind is, and contrariwise dwarf them and stay their growth; we make them more fruitful and bearing than their kind is, and contrariwise barren and not generative. Also we make them differ in colour, shape, activity, many ways. We find means to make commixtures and copulations of divers kinds, which have produced many new kinds, and them not barren, as the general opinion is.[36] We make

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the earth. From this mixed seed springs a tree the fruit of which exhibits three distinct species included within one rind, the division being perfectly visible externally, and the flavour of each compartment as different as if it had grown on a separate tree. This method of producing a tripartite fruit has been introduced by Boghos Bey from Smyrna, his native city, where it is said to have been practised from time immemorial."—*Egypt, and Mohammed Ali*, II. 363, f.

[35] Majendie, and other physiologists, have followed up this hint with a magnificent disregard of animal life. It is fortunate that the laws protect men from the rage of experimentalists, or we should assuredly have poisons, and other medicines "tried upon them."

[36] I have somewhere read of a race of mules said to be en-

a number of kinds of serpents, worms, flies, fishes, of putrefaction; whereof some are advanced (in effect) to be perfect creatures, like beasts or birds, and have sexes, and do propagate. Neither do we this by chance, but we know beforehand of what matter and commixture, what kind of those creatures will arise.

"We have also particular pools where we make trials upon fishes, as we have said before of beasts and birds.

"We have also places for breed and generation of those kinds of worms and flies which are of special use, such as are with you your silkworms and bees.

"I will not hold you long with recounting of our brewhouses, bakehouses, and kitchens, where are made divers drinks, breads, and meats, rare and of special effects. Wines we have of grapes, and drinks of other juice, of fruits, of grains, and of roots; and of mixtures with honey, sugar, manna, and fruits dried and decocted; also of the tears, or woundings of trees, and of the pulp of canes. And these drinks are of several ages, some to the age or last of forty years. We have drinks also brewed with several herbs and roots and spices, yea with several fleshes and white-meats; whereof some of the drinks are such as they are in effect meat and drink both, so that divers, especially in age, do desire to live with them with little or no meat or

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dowed with fertility; but the report probably originated with incautious observers, or credulous narrators, who were never at the pains to observe.

bread. And above all we strive to have drinks of extreme thin parts, to insinuate into the body, and yet without all biting, sharpness or fretting; insomuch as some of them put upon the back of your hand will, with a little stay, pass through to the palm, and yet taste mild to the mouth. We have also waters which we ripen in that fashion as they become nourishing, so that they are indeed excellent drink; and many will use no other. Breads we have of several grains, roots, and kernels; yea and some of flesh and fish dried, with divers kinds of leavenings and seasonings; so that some do extremely move appetites; some do nourish so as divers do live of them without any other meat, who live very long. So, for meats, we have some of them so beaten and made tender and mortified, yet without all corrupting, as a weak heat of the stomach will turn them into good chylus, as well as a strong heat would meat otherwise prepared. We have some meats also, and breads and drinks, which taken by men enable them to fast long after; and some other that used make the very flesh of men's bodies sensibly more hard and tough, and their strength far greater than otherwise it would be.

"We have dispensatories, or shops of medicines, wherein you may easily think, if we have such variety of plants and living creatures more than you have in Europe, (for we know what you have,) the simples, drugs, and ingredients of medicines must likewise be in so much the greater variety. We have them likewise of divers ages, and long

fermentations. And for their preparations, we have not only all manner of exquisite distillations and separations, and especially by gentle heats, and percolations through divers strainers, yea and substances; but also exact forms of composition, whereby they incorporate almost as they were natural simples.

"We have also divers mechanical arts which you have not, and stuffs made by them, as papers, linen, silks, tissues, dainty works of feathers of wonderful lustre, excellent dyes, and many others; and shops likewise as well for such as are not brought into vulgar use amongst us, as for those that are. For you must know, that of the things before recited many are grown into use throughout the kingdom; but yet, if they did flow from our invention, we have of them also for patterns and principles.

"We have also furnaces of great diversities, and that keep great diversity of heats, fierce and quick, strong and constant, soft and mild, blown, quiet, dry, moist, and the like. But, above all, we have heats in imitation of the sun's and heavenly bodies' heats, that pass divers inequalities, and, as it were, orbs, progresses, and returns, whereby we may produce admirable effects. Besides, we have heats of dungs, and of bellies and maws of living creatures, and of their bloods and bodies; and of hays and herbs laid up moist; of lime unquenched, and such like. Instruments, also, which generate heat only by motion; and further, places for strong insolations; and, again, places under the earth which

by nature or art yield heat. These divers heats we use as the nature of the operation which we intend requireth.

"We have also perspective-houses, where we make demonstration of all lights and radiations, and of all colours; and of things uncoloured and transparent, we can represent unto you all several colours, not in rainbows, (as it is in gems and prisms,) but of themselves single. We represent, also, all multiplications of light, which we carry to great distance, and make so sharp as to discern small points and lines; also all colourations of light, all delusions and deceits of the sight, in figures, magnitudes, motions, colours; all demonstrations of shadows. We find, also, divers means yet unknown to you of producing of light originally from divers bodies. We procure means of seeing objects afar off, as in the heavens, and remote places; and represent things near as afar off, and things afar off as near, making feigned distances. We have also helps for the sight far above spectacles and glasses in use. We have also glasses and means to see small and minute bodies perfectly and distinctly, as the shapes and colours of small flies and worms, grains and flaws in gems, which cannot otherwise be seen; observations in urine and blood, not otherwise to be seen. We make artificial rainbows, halos, and circles about light. We represent also all manner of reflections, refractions, and multiplication of visual beams of objects.

"We have also precious stones of all kinds,

many of them of great beauty, and to you unknown; crystals likewise, and glasses of divers kinds, and amongst them some of metals vitrificated, and other materials, besides those of which you make glass. Also a number of fossils and imperfect minerals which you have not; likewise loadstones of prodigious virtue, and other rare stones both natural and artificial.

"We have also sound-houses, where we practise and demonstrate all sounds and their generation. We have harmonies, which you have not, of quarter sounds, and lesser slides of sounds; divers instruments likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have; with bells and rings that are dainty and sweet. We represent small sounds as great and deep, likewise great sounds extenuate and sharp. We make divers tremblings and warbling of sounds, which in their original are entire; we represent and imitate all articulate sounds and letters, and the voices and notes of beasts and birds.[37] We have certain helps, which set to the ear do further the hearing greatly. We have also divers strange and artificial echos reflecting the voice many times, and as it were tossing it; and some that give back the voice louder than it came, some shriller, and some deeper; yea some rendering the voice differing in the letters or articulate sound from that they receive. We have all means

[37] This was carried to considerable perfection in ancient Greece, where persons were found who could even imitate the nightingale.

to convey sounds in trunks and pipes in strange lines and distances.

"We have also perfume-houses, wherewith we join also practices of taste: we multiply smells, which may seem strange; we imitate smells, making all smells to breath out of other mixtures than those that give them. We make divers imitations of taste likewise, so that they will deceive any man's taste. And in this house we contain also a confiture-house, where we make all sweetmeats dry and moist, and divers pleasant wines, milks, broths, and salads, far in greater variety than you have.

"We also have engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practice to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets, or any engine that you have; and to make them and multiply them more easily, and with small force, by wheels and other means; and to make them stronger and more violent than yours are, exceeding your greatest cannons and basilisks.[38] We represent also ordnance and instruments of war, and engines of all kinds; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wildfires burning in water and unquenchable;[39]

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[38] Vide Lips. Poliorcet.

[39] His lordship here attributes to the Atlanteans an acquaintance with the *Greek fire*, the composition of which is no longer known. Its effects, however, are eloquently described by Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." x. 11, 14, ff. 140; who has likewise endeavoured to discover the ingre-

also fireworks of all variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds: we have some degrees of flying in the air: we have ships and boats for going under water, and brooking of seas; also swimming girdles and supporters.[40] We have divers curious clocks, and other like motions of return, and some perpetual motions. We imitate also motions of living creatures by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and serpents: we have also a great number of other various motions, strange for quality, fineness, and subtilty.

"We have also a mathematical house, where are

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dients of which it consisted, observing, however, that "the historian who presumes to analyze this extraordinary composition, should suspect his own ignorance and that of his Byzantine guides, so prone to the marvellous, so careless, and in this instance, so jealous of the truth. From their obscure, and perhaps fallacious hints, it should seem that the principal ingredients of the Greek fire was the naptha, or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, and inflammable oil, which springs from the earth, and catches fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air. The naptha was mingled, I know not by what method or in what proportion, with sulphur and with the pitch that is extracted from the evergreen firs. From this mixture, which produced a thick smoke, and a loud explosion, proceeded a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but likewise burnt with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress. Instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened by the element of water; and sand, wine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was justly denominated by the Greeks, the liquid or maritime fire."

[40] This invention has at length been really made, and the efficacy of such contrivances in preserving life was lately exemplified in that calamitous accident of the steam-boat, in which all on board were drowned, save one, who had about him a swimming-girdle, such as Lord Bacon here speaks of.

represented all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made.

"We have also houses of deceits of the senses, where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures and illusions and their fallacies. And surely you will easily believe that we that have so many things truly natural, which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars deceive the senses, if we would disguise those things, and labour to make them more miraculous. But we do hate all impostures and lies, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines, that they do not show any natural work or thing adorned or swelling, but only pure as it is, and without all affectation of strangeness.

"These are, my son, the riches of Solomon's House.

"For the several employments and offices of our fellows, we have twelve that sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations, (for our own we conceal,) who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call 'merchants of light.'

"We have three that collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call 'depredators.'

"We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts, and also of liberal sciences, and also of practices which are not brought into arts. These we call 'mystery men.'

"We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call 'pioneers' or 'miners.

"We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms out of them. These we call 'compilers.'

"We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of natural divinations, and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call 'dowry men,' or 'benefactors.'

"Then, after divers meetings and consults of our whole number, to consider of the former labours and collections, we have three that take care out of them to direct new experiments of a higher light, more penetrating into nature than the former. These we call 'lamps.'

"We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call 'inoculators.'

"Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call 'interpreters of nature.'

"We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail; besides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this we do also; we have consultations which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not; and

take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those which we think meet to keep secret, though some of those we do reveal sometimes to the state, and some not.

"For our ordinances and rites, we have two very long and fair galleries. In one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions; in the other we place the statues of all principal inventors. There we have the statue of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies; also the inventor of ships; your monk that was the inventor of ordnance and of gunpowder; the inventor of music; the inventor of letters; the inventor of printing; the inventor of observations of astronomy; the inventor of works in metal; the inventor of glass; the inventor of silk of the worm; the inventor of wine; the inventor of corn and bread; the inventor of sugars: and all these by more certain tradition than you have. Then we have divers inventors of our own, of excellent works, which since you have not seen, it were too long to make descriptions of them; and besides, in the right understanding of those descriptions you might easily err. For upon every invention of value we erect a statue to the inventor, and give him a liberal and honourable reward. These statues are some of brass, some of marble and touchstone, some of cedar and other special woods gilt and adorned, some of iron, some of silver, some of gold.

"We have certain hymns and services which we say daily of laud and thanks to God for his mar-

vellous works; and forms of prayers imploring his aid and blessing for the illumination of our labours, and the turning them into good and holy uses.

"Lastly, we have circuits or visits of divers principal cities of the kingdom, where, as it cometh to pass, we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempest, earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and divers other things; and we give counsel thereupon what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them."

And when he had said this, he stood up; and I, as I had been taught, kneeled down, and he laid his right hand upon my head, and said, "God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made; I give thee leave to publish it for the good of other nations, for we here are in God's bosom, a land unknown." And so he left me, having assigned a value of about two thousand ducats for a bounty to me and my fellows; for they give great largesses where they come upon all occasions.[41]

THE REST WAS NOT PERFECTED.

[41] Here the fragment terminates abruptly. It is no doubt to be regretted that the design was never completed, but enough remains to convince us that this kind of composition was not precisely that in which Bacon was best calculated to shine.

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Impressions of the air, and raising of tempests.

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